

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1920

Major General Leonard Wood.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
The Progress of the World—		
Preliminary Presidential Politics.....		3
Candidates Named in South Dakota.....		3
The Presidency As a Vital Concern.....		3
Candidates as Found, or Made.....		4
The Man and the Office.....		4
"Personal Equation" of the Presidency.....		4
Leonard Wood and His Training.....		5
His Work for Preparedness.....		6
The Rise of Frank Lowden.....		6
Farmer and War Governor.....		7
Other Figures—Coolidge.....		7
Looking Over the Field.....		8
Republicans in Council.....		9
Chicago Wins the Convention.....		9
Women in the Campaign.....		10
Mr. Wilson and His Party.....		10
"Logical" Candidates.....		11
Mr. McAdoo and the Issues.....		11
The New Cabinet Favorite.....		12
The People and the Primaries.....		12
Dates of Presidential Primary Elections.....		12
Pershing and Hoover.....		13
Senators Too Busy.....		13
"Labor" Now in Politics.....		14
Economic Issues Foremost.....		14
Ending of the Coal Strike.....		14
A Failure in Government Control.....		15
Faithful Public Servants.....		15
Frank Lafe and His Services.....		16
Mr. Glass Ends a Year at the Exchequer.....		16
Mr. Baker and the Army.....		17
Daniels Praises the Navy.....		17
Prohibition a Settled Policy.....		18
War Risk and the Soldiers.....		18
A Trade Balance of Four Billion Dollars.....		18
Trade with Germany.....		19
The Depreciated German Mark.....		19
Sensational Decline in English Exchange.....		19
Uncertain Fate of the Railroads.....		19
A Great Street Railway's Troubles.....		19
Our Peace-Time Budget.....		20
The Treaty Still in Partisan Deadlock.....		20
The President's Message.....		21
A Conference at London.....		21
French Politics and Government.....		22
Italy's Hero Triumphs.....		22
The Baffling Mexican Situation.....		23
The Frick Beneficence.....		23
<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>		
Record of Current Events.....		25
<i>With illustrations</i>		
The Cartoonists' Views.....		28
The "Fighting Quaker" of the Cabinet.....		35
BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS		
<i>With portrait of A. Mitchell Palmer</i>		
Prospects and Problems of the New Year.....		
BY FRANK H. SIMONDS		39
The Present Situation in Germany.....		
BY C. W. A. VEDITZ		47
<i>With illustrations</i>		
Charles Cestre, A Student of America.....		
BY LYMAN P. POWELL		54
<i>With portrait</i>		
Our Labor Situation—A Frenchman's View.....		
BY CHARLES CESTRE		55
America's Precedent for Mandates.....		
BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGER		60
Canada's Memorable Year.....		
BY J. P. GERRIE		63
Sir Auckland Geddes.....		
BY FRANK DILNOT		65
<i>With portrait</i>		
Peoples Banks.....		
BY W. F. McCaleb		69
The Immediate Problems of Farming.....		
BY HUGH J. HUGHES		73
An American in Shantung.....		
		76
The Japanese in California.....		
BY PAYSON J. TREAT		79
Beveridge's "Marshall".....		
<i>With portrait of Albert J. Beveridge</i>		81
Leading Articles of the Month—		
A British View of the Senate's Treaty Reservations.....		
		83
The Trial of the Former Kaiser.....		
		85
German Responsibility for the War.....		
		87
An American Observer of Bolshevism.....		
		87
Socialism's Present Status in America.....		
		88
Socialism and Invention.....		
		89
War Prices and Incomes in Germany.....		
		91
Germany's Baltic Policy.....		
		91
Italian Censure of D'Annunzio.....		
		92
Price-Fixing as Remedy for Profiteering.....		
		93
England's Women War Workers.....		
		94
Duration of Life.....		
		95
Einstein's Theory of Relativity.....		
		97
Fifty Years of "Nature".....		
		98
French Ideas of Temperance.....		
		99
Simplified Spelling in China.....		
		100
A Common People's Union.....		
		102
The Secret of the Moving Picture.....		
		103
Substitutes for Brick in Building.....		
		104
Roosevelt Memorial at Oyster Bay.....		
<i>With illustrations</i>		105
The New Books.....		
<i>With illustrations</i>		106

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MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY, LEADING CANDIDATE FOR THE REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Preliminary
Presidential
Politics* The State of South Dakota has adopted certain political arrangements that have some interest for the rest of the country, whether or not they are of much practical use to South Dakota itself. The primary elections for nominating party candidates are to be held in South Dakota in March; and at that time delegates will be chosen to attend the national party conventions. The law requires that the parties hold simultaneous conventions at the State Capitol, Pierre, several months in advance of the primaries, and accordingly these gatherings were held in the opening days of December. A preliminary expression on presidential candidates is one of the unusual requirements of this South Dakota system. The delegates from each county are allowed to vote in the ratio of the number of party votes cast at the last State election. The technical features of this curious primary law of South Dakota were not a matter of note, but the results last month actually secured extensive news reports and general press comment throughout the United States.

*Candidates
Named in South
Dakota* Everyone interested in politics knew that several so-called "booms" had been started for presidential candidates. But not many citizens knew to what extent such movements were organized; much less was it known how far there was a genuine public support for one or another of the suggested candidacies. The value to the country of South Dakota's early conventions lay in the testing of these somewhat doubtful movements in a concrete situation. What was vaguely in solution had to be precipitated, to use a chemical analogy, in this Western political laboratory. So far as developed Republican candidacies are concerned, that of General

Leonard Wood and that of Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois have now assumed a character quite substantial because the Republican convention in South Dakota, in actual experiment, discovered 28,599 votes for Wood and 15,442 for Lowden. The endorsement of General Wood at the convention is not a conclusive or binding action; and the voters at the primaries in March will be free to choose delegates to the national convention in Lowden's interest rather than in that of General Wood, or even in the interest of some other candidate if they should then see fit to reject the advice of the December convention. But the vote for this candidate, who is not in any manner identified with South Dakota and who is not therefore a "favorite son" or a selection made for local reasons, is indicative of the practical character that the movement on behalf of the nomination of Leonard Wood has assumed throughout the country. From various indications many people had thought his candidacy was growing; and the South Dakota vote came as a significant piece of evidence. It was doubly welcome to the organizers and managers of the Wood movement, because local politicians everywhere like to be early in the camp of the winner; and many who had no objections but had not committed themselves were now ready to show a more positive interest in General Wood as the leading candidate.

*The Presidency
as a Vital
Concern* Whatever might have been true regarding so-called "booms" that suffer from being exposed to view prematurely, we are now near enough to the State primaries and to the national conventions to be considering seriously the question of candidates for the high office of President. There is no office in the world that is to be compared in critical importance

with that of the Presidency of the United States. This is a lesson that the country needs to learn more than almost any other. We have had millions of citizens fairly well educated in one sense, but dangerously unintelligent in other respects, who have acted upon the theory that it made comparatively little difference to them which party was in power or what individual leader was placed in the White House. They acted upon the belief that they could safely and profitably devote themselves to their own private affairs, and that matters of politics and government were largely in the hands of fate and not to be taken with too much concern. If such people are capable of learning anything at all by experience, they have now found out that matters of politics and government are of life-and-death concern to every American family in the carrying-on of its private affairs. It is of great consequence who are sent to represent the States in the Senate, and who are sent to the House of Representatives from the districts. But, under our system as it has developed, it is a business of so much consequence which is to culminate at the polls in November, as a result of the Presidential campaign, that this one issue of the Presidency should be regarded as paramount.

Candidates as Found, or Made

No high office should be a matter of intrigue or of self-seeking; but, on the other hand, it is wholly creditable that young men should prepare themselves for public work and should offer themselves as aspirants for one elective office after another. It is not unfitting that a man should seek a Governorship or a seat in the United States Senate, and it is desirable that men of public experience and talent should so study our methods and problems of government and so fit themselves for high leadership that their friends might present them as possible candidates for the highest office. But this one office is too far removed from all others in its responsibilities to be stubbornly sought as a prize by any man of ambition. If the people of any community or State think they have a fellow citizen especially fitted for the Presidency, it is their duty as well as their privilege to give the country the benefit of their views. But presidential politics must no longer be regarded as a game for the professionals who know the tricks. Men of public spirit and true perception must press to the front and not permit national conven-

tions to be dominated by schemers, or by experts in the art of gathering "hand-picked" delegates.

The Man and the Office

There are many thoughtful Americans—men who say less than they know or think—who have not ceased to ponder over the effects of convention management, both Republican and Democratic, during the past two decades, or, let us say, since 1896. It is useless to condemn in any sweeping way the methods and results of professional politics. It is perhaps true that politicians did better than was to have been expected in view of the neglect of political duty by the great mass of citizens. The point of these remarks lies in the observation that these well-meaning citizens should have learned by reason of experience that the conduct of public office is vital to every private interest. As the facts about the beginning of the Great War are now being candidly studied in Germany, it becomes evident that German opinion as to the responsibility of the Emperor William for Austria's attack upon Serbia is not different from the opinion that was generally held in the United States at the time. Even though urged on by the Pan-German politicians and the military leaders, it is probable that the Emperor could have prevented the war if he had tried to do so. He is justly chargeable, therefore, with having precipitated the world conflict. But, as events have shaped themselves in the past five or six years, it is doubtful whether even the Emperor of Germany ever exercised as much actual influence over the course of affairs in his own country as the President of the United States has exercised in this democratic republic.

"Personal Equality" of the Presidency

America has been through experiences that are expressed in aggregates of almost unthinkable magnitude. Chapters of our history have been made that will be critically studied and constantly rewritten for at least a century to come. The course of events has been profoundly shaped not merely by the words and deeds of the President of the United States, but by what is, to use a word now common in the streets, his "psychology"—that is to say, his peculiar individual way of seeing things, of theorizing about them, and of dealing with them in accordance with his own mental attitudes toward them. Mr. Wilson was elected in 1912 by reason of

certain reactions and movements that had split the Republican party and had swung the pendulum away from the Republican high tariff. It is a purely speculative exercise to wonder what would have happened in our relation to world affairs if Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt had been elected in 1912, or again if Mr. Hughes or Mr. Roosevelt had been elected in 1916. After all, the country made its own choices under a free system and not under an autocracy. There is not to be found even between the lines of our comment any reflection upon Mr. Wilson or any other leader. But it would be worse than fatuous to ignore henceforth the enormous consequences to the country that lurk in the "personal equation" of the Presidency.

Leonard Wood and His Training Now that General Leonard Wood has become so prominent as a candidate, with the practical certainty that his name will be presented at the Chicago convention in June, there is anxious desire in many quarters to know what kind of a President this leader would make. General Wood became a national character in 1898, but he had won distinction a dozen years earlier and had received the military Medal of Honor for his gallant part in an Indian campaign (against Geronimo) on our Southwest border in 1886. He was a New England boy, born in October, 1860, in New Hampshire and educated in Massachusetts, graduating at the Harvard Medical School in 1884. He went into the Army soon after, and was appointed First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon early in January, 1886. Before the end of that same year he had distinguished himself as an Indian fighter. He made steady progress in the Army, and within five years had become a Captain and a full Surgeon. A few years later he was stationed in Washington and had the honor of being President McKinley's personal physician at the time when Theodore Roosevelt left the Police Commissionership in New York City to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Wood and Roosevelt had so many tastes in common, including a love for vigorous out-of-door exercise, that they became intimate friends. It was Roosevelt who proposed the forming of the first volunteer cavalry regiment when we declared war upon Spain, but he insisted that Leonard Wood should be Colonel. Wood was in a short time promoted to be a Brigadier General, and



MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

Roosevelt was advanced from second place to the head of his regiment of "Rough Riders."

A Broad Experience There followed a period of opportunity and service for General Wood in Cuba. In a short time he had shown himself remarkably capable as a civil administrator. His medical knowledge gave him especial fitness for directing and supporting those sanitary reforms which are perhaps the best legacy for Cuba of our brief occupation, when we were transforming a Spanish colony into a self-governing republic. General Wood was made a Major General of Volunteers and later was sent to the Philippines, where his military, medical and political talents all found still further opportunity. This brief paragraph is intended only to characterize some of General Wood's qualifications, and not to serve the purpose of a biographical sketch. Most readers are familiar with General Wood's subsequent rise to the position of the Army's senior major general and to the honors and duties of the Chief of Staff at Washington. In due time he was transferred to the command of the Eastern Military Division of the country with headquarters at Governor's Island, New York. He had meanwhile, in previous years, witnessed the work of foreign armies in peace and in war, and had been a constant student

of public affairs as well as of matters relating to his own two professions. He had maintained himself in health and vigor by constant care and exercise, and had pursued a more active intellectual life than is usual among army officers.

His Work for Preparedness General Wood's more recent distinction has been due to a public service in the field of statesmanship rather than of military service. Being a student of world conditions, he was thoroughly convinced when the European War began in the summer of 1914 that the United States would be in a perilous position unless we should at once increase our military and naval preparedness as quickly as possible and to a great extent. It was not regarded as quite the conventional thing for a military man on the active list of the Army to express opinions about policies that his superior political heads (the Secretary of War and the President of the United States) might like to present to the public in their own way. Presidents and Secretaries, however, come and go, while the professional army chiefs are permanent and are also citizens. There is no law or rule in this country by virtue of which an experienced army officer of high standing is precluded from expressing the opinions that he holds regarding the country's safety in the military sense. General Wood's attitude was eminently respectful and wholly non-partisan. He knew that private soldiers could be trained quickly in case of need, but that if drawn into war we should be at a loss for officers. He also knew that we should be exceedingly short of guns and munitions of all kinds. He expressed his views on every suitable occasion, and took the initiative by starting vacation camps at Plattsburg for the training of civilian officers at their own expense.

Value of the Plattsburg Camp

When the war came, his Plattsburg experiment of the summers of 1915 and 1916 had actually gone far to give us a body of excellent young officers. Further than that, the Plattsburg idea was taken up by the War Department in 1917, and training camps all over the country were established upon the Plattsburg model. In these training camps it was not unusual to find that the instructors, who were turning out fresh bodies of Lieutenants, were themselves young businessmen or lawyers who had received Plattsburg summer training and had been given commis-

sions when we began to raise armies early in 1917. It would be hard to over-estimate the service rendered to this country and to the world, not merely by General Wood's foresight in 1914 and 1915, but by his courageous action in demonstrating what could be done to create a large American army. General Wood, during the war period, desired to be sent to France, but he was retained in this country where he trained armies, worked loyally wherever placed, and showed by example that men best fitted to lead and to command can also take orders and serve well without complaint. Far from sulking or going into retirement, General Wood accepted the shifts from one place to another, and never failed to find tasks well worth performing wherever he was sent. He is not a man with a grievance, but an eminently capable American public servant, sound mentally and physically, of firm purpose, knowing all parts of the country well, and also knowing intimately the foreign contacts and relationships of the United States, as they have developed during the past quarter-century.

The Rise of Frank Lowden

The South Dakota showdown also gave concrete evidence of a real movement for the nomination of Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois. Governor Lowden, like General Wood, has a very acceptable personality. Both Wood and Lowden are examples for their fellow countrymen in one important respect. General Wood was fifty-nine on his last birthday, October 9. Mr. Lowden will be fifty-nine on the 26th day of the present month of January. Thus one has entered his sixtieth year and the other is about to enter it, and both are in prime condition, with the unimpaired vigor of youth. They have not been afraid of work, but have taken good care of their health. General Wood expresses himself as a public speaker with exceptional force, and with the self command of a finely trained speaker. As a medical man and a soldier, he has something of professional terseness and brevity. Lowden, as lawyer, politician and statesman, is a remarkably engaging speaker possessing unusual poise. He was born in Minnesota and went to Iowa while a very young boy, his father being first a blacksmith and then a farmer. Young Lowden taught in country schools for several years, and went to the Iowa State University at the age of twenty, graduating at the top of his class,

after which, by teaching and clerking, he made his way through law school in Chicago and soon was recognized as perhaps the most brilliant and promising of the young members of the Chicago bar. He became identified at once with the educational and progressive activities of his State, became a trustee of several leading colleges in Illinois, and took his place as a man of mark with the prospect of a distinguished future.

*Farmer and
War Governor*

Lowden also became a volunteer Lieutenant Colonel in Chicago at the time of the war with Spain in 1898. Meanwhile, he had married a daughter of the late Mr. Pullman, was a professor of law, active at the bar, and influential in Republican politics. He missed the nomination for Governor in 1904 when the Deneen-Yates forces combined against him on the seventy-ninth ballot; but he was sent to Congress two years later. He had purchased a farm in the Rock River Valley in 1900, and after a few years at Washington he decided to retire from politics and devote himself for some time to the building up of his health and the development of the varied possibilities of a great middle-western farm. He has been instrumental in doing much to promote successful scientific farming, while on the other hand farming has done much for him. He waited twelve years from the time of his previous candidacy and was elected Governor of Illinois by a tremendous majority in 1916. He could probably have won a seat in the United States Senate, but he held to his duties as Governor for the term of four years. Without invidious comparison, it is proper to say that Lowden has been in the very forefront of the successful war governors.

*An Expert
Administrator*

Illinois was in some respects a difficult State to administer in the war period; but there is no real dissent from the opinion that Lowden has shown himself a fine executive, a true leader, and a Governor to be proud of. Under his direction, Illinois has made remarkable reforms. It has consolidated 125 State boards, commissions and bureaus into a group of nine departments, with a wholly new kind of working efficiency, with a reduction of the tax rate, and with business methods in making estimates and expenditures. Under his leadership also, Illinois has entered upon the outlay of a large sum for good roads, interest and principal to be



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HON. FRANK O. LOWDEN, GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

repaid by automobile license fees. Later in the present year, 1920, Illinois is to have a constitutional convention to revise the existing constitution which was adopted fifty years ago; and the referendum which has endorsed and authorized the holding of this convention was submitted to the people on Governor Lowden's recommendation. If he should be nominated for the Presidency, he would be well qualified to deal with the financial and economic problems which are to be so pressing during the next few years.

*Other
Figures—
Onlookers*

It is reasonable to say, in view of the discussion throughout the country that has followed the South Dakota convention, that General Wood and Governor Lowden are now candidates on the national plane. Is this true of any other Republicans? Certainly there are Republicans who are nationally known and recognized as personally of "presidential size," but it is not so well known whether or not they will be definitely presented as candidates, either in primary elections a few months hence, or before the national convention. It has been expected that a number of States would bring forward a "favorite son," either seriously or as a passing compliment. The South Dakota Republi-

can Convention almost unanimously agreed upon Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for the second place on the ticket, but the Massachusetts leaders have themselves come together and announced their intention of supporting Governor Coolidge for the first place. In this decision Senator Lodge and ex-Senator Murray Crane are united, with the support of Progressive leaders like Mr. Bird. In Massachusetts they elect a Governor every year. Coolidge had come into the Governorship of Massachusetts by way of party promotion, having been three times (in three successive years) elected Lieutenant-Governor. He was first elected Governor as recently as 1918.

A New National Personage

The country at large knew nothing about Coolidge until he showed remarkable firmness in dealing with the Boston police strike which started on September 9. This issue was carried into his campaign for reëlection, and, as everybody knows, he won an almost unprecedented victory at the polls two months ago and is now, with the beginning of the year, entering upon his new term as Governor, finding himself a national figure, an Eastern candidate for the Presidency, and a Western candidate for the Vice Presidency. He grew up a typical Vermont boy and went to Amherst College in Massachusetts where he graduated at the age of twenty-three in 1895, proceeding at once to the nearby city of Northampton, where he became a law student in the offices of the leading local firm and was soon admitted to the bar. He was married in Northampton and has lived modestly in that city for more than twenty-four years, being now about forty-seven years old. He has always been in politics; first in the City Council, then as Mayor, and afterwards for a number of terms in both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature. He has the good will of all who know him, as well as their unbounded confidence and respect. If the Boston police had not made the mistake of going on strike, it is hardly possible that South Dakota would have known enough about this modest young New Englander to nominate him for the Vice Presidency. But a successful Republican Governor of Massachusetts becomes a public asset even if not obviously of presidential size. It is wholly probable that Governor Coolidge will, in one capacity or another, be brought into the sphere of national affairs.

Looking Over the Field

Many Republicans have been more or less prominently mentioned, either for reason of national eminence or of local favor; but they have not as yet been designated by official action. It is supposed that some States in the West may bring forward Senators Hiram Johnson, Poindexter, and Borah. Iowa, Kansas, Indiana and Ohio may have State candidates to present. Indeed, Ohio seems to be rallying around Senator Warren G. Harding. Pennsylvania may further the candidacy of Senator Knox or of Governor Sproul. Ex-President Taft is available and widely popular, though not regarded as an active candidate. Ex-Senator Root was never more influential in the councils of the Republican party, but will not be drafted for the arduous work of the presidency by reason of years, although he has not lost the appearance or elasticity of middle age. Judge Hughes, who was the candidate four years ago, has more than ever the esteem of the country, and his talents especially fit him for the highest public responsibilities; but there is no evidence of any activity on his behalf. Apart from Mr. Root and Mr. Hughes, President Butler of Columbia University is the most widely known Republican of the State of New York, and in his conversance with public affairs, both American and foreign, is of foremost rank. He might prove to be the candidate of the Republicans of the State of New York, but this remains to be seen.

Republicans in Council

The Republican National Committee foregathered in Washington during the second week of December after a manner that enhanced the prestige that had already been earned by the resourceful Chairman, Mr. Will H. Hays, of Indiana. Mr. Hays has the faculty of keeping his mind upon the business of carrying on the government of the country, and he thinks of party success in terms of the country's welfare. He is proposing to restore politics to the place that the seriousness of public affairs requires. He has been trying to secure party harmony, and he has succeeded in gaining the confidence and approval of the party's statesmen and intellectual leaders while keeping his hold to a remarkable extent upon the good will of the men who manage the party machinery in the different States. Thus it has been usual, immediately after the presidential nominating convention, to change the na-



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A CASUAL GROUP SHOWING SOME OF THE REPUBLICANS WHO ATTENDED THE MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(Chairman Will H. Hays is at the center of the front row, holding a paper. At his right is Governor Sprout of Pennsylvania)

tional chairman and give the office, for the purposes of campaign management, to a personal choice of the presidential nominee. It was the general sentiment among the national committeemen and the chairmen of State committees at Washington in December that Mr. Will Hays should carry on the campaign as Chairman, no matter who might be the candidate chosen at Chicago in June. The friends of all the candidates whose names have been brought under discussion are agreed in expressing satisfaction with the way in which Mr. Hays has magnified and adorned the office of Chairman.

*Chicago
Wins the
Convention*

The meeting at Washington was primarily to decide the time and place of holding the National Convention. Chicago was chosen, and Tuesday, June 8, was fixed as the date for the opening of the Convention that may last until Saturday. The invitation to St. Louis was cordially received but the Chicago habit is too firmly fixed to be seriously shaken. Lincoln was nominated at Chicago sixty years ago, and that city has been associated with much party history since 1860. Apparently some of the active supporters of the candidacy of General Wood favored St. Louis on the natural theory that Chicago, as Lowden's home city, would have advantages for the Illinois can-

didate; but this is not a vital consideration. A platform committee named half a year in advance is a welcome innovation. The Washington conferences of Republican Committeemen were ushered in with an open session which brought together many leaders from all parts of the country, including Senators and Congressmen. The presence of women in considerable numbers marked the most important recent change in American political life. The principal speakers at the public session were Governor Sprout of Pennsylvania, Governor McKelvie of Nebraska, and Mrs. Medill McCormick of Illinois. Governor Sprout's name is in the list of Presidential possibilities, and if Senator Knox should not be a candidate, the able and presentable Governor may be brought forward as Pennsylvania's "favorite son." Governor McKelvie of Nebraska is typical of the leaders of the new generation now coming forward in the Mississippi Valley and the West. He is a product of the farm, a graduate of the State University, and editor of the *Nebraska Farmer*—an orator and a man of convictions.

*Women
in the
Campaign*

Mrs. McCormick has in marked degree that superior directness and lucidity that women of trained minds possess in public speech. It was observed that the women who were



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MRS. MEDILL MC CORMICK, OF CHICAGO

present at Washington as members of the National and State Republican Committees were independent in judgment and were justly influential. They brought high purpose and real force to the party's plans and programs. By virtue of State action a large part of the women of America are already full voters. Mrs. McCormick announced in her speech at Washington that there was a fair probability that the constitutional amendment would be ratified by enough States to give it effect in time for all American women to vote at the presidential election. Relatively speaking, the women voters are more concerned about presidential candidates as individuals, and less concerned about partisanship, than are the men who have come up as party workers and who are now serving on party committees. This evident fact may have a bearing upon the nominations in June. While women in general will be aligned with established parties, they will control their own votes; and their point of view may easily determine the final result.

*Mr. Wilson
and His
Party*

We are giving attention to the Republican party situation this month because the Democratic situation has been more slow to develop. Thus, the Democratic convention in South Dakota, which met the same day as the Republican convention, on December 2, unanimously endorsed President Wilson for a third term. This action, of course, was not to be taken literally. The Democrats do not expect to vote for Mr. Wilson, but they must of necessity base their party claims upon the record of Mr. Wilson's two terms. In 1908 the Republican campaign was waged upon the record of Roosevelt and McKinley, and Mr. Taft was selected as the logical representative of the McKinley-Roosevelt policies, Mr. Roosevelt refusing to be brought forward for a third term. The South Dakota action of December 2 was an endorsement of Wilson's conduct of the war and of his work in the Peace Conference, and was in support of the fight for ratification of the treaty in the Senate. The friends of the Wilson Administration will endeavor to control the Democratic Convention and to secure a candidate acceptable to the retiring President. There is no one who supposes that Mr. Wilson's state of health would permit him to be a candidate, even if he were unmindful of the tradition that has always prevailed against a third successive term. Mr. Wilson, indeed, was nominated in 1912 by a convention that pledged its candidate to a single term. He did not specifically accept that plank in the platform, and his party forgot all about it before 1916.

*"Logical"
Candidates*

It is not yet clear what leader will be regarded by the Democrats as most likely to gain at once the endorsement of the White House and the favor of the voters. At least four men who have served in the Wilson Cabinet have been prominently named. These four are Secretaries Baker and Daniels, Mr. William G. McAdoo and the present Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer. The Navy has been deservedly popular, and its recent history has brought into especial note and favor Secretary Daniels, who comes from North Carolina; the Assistant Secretary, Franklin Roosevelt, who comes from the State of New York; and, finally, Admiral Sims. There are plenty of people who believe that one or another of these three would make a first-rate President of the United States. Admiral Sims will not, of

course, be a candidate; but the New York Democrats might possibly present the name of Franklin Roosevelt at the Democratic national convention. His patronymic is not against him, and the esteem in which he was held by his cousin, the late President Roosevelt, is felt for him by Democrats and Republicans alike in his own home State. Mr. Baker, whose home is in Cleveland, might find the Ohio Democracy preferring to support the candidacy of Governor Cox, whose home is in Dayton. It became known last month that Hon. James W. Gerard, American Ambassador at Berlin until the breaking-off of diplomatic relations, will be presented to the voters in the primaries of many States besides those of New York.

Mr. McAdoo and the Issues Mr. William G. McAdoo has had a chance to become thoroughly rested and to reestablish his private affairs under that welcome eclipse which every tired public man enjoys for a year after leaving office. Mr. McAdoo had worked with almost incomparable vigor and intensity for something like six years in the Cabinet, and soon after the signing of the Armistice he felt himself entitled to relief. He showed himself as head of the Treasury Department and of the Railroad Administration to be an executive of swift initiative, great courage, large grasp and bold imagination. The problems immediately confronting the country are economic in their character, and those of the government itself will have to do with taxation, finance, railroads, international credit, the merchant marine and so on. Our present situation as regards merchant ships, Federal taxation, public indebtedness and railroad administration has grown out of Mr. McAdoo's war-time proposals and programs, more than those of any other man. The Democrats might go far and fare worse in trying to find a man capable of dealing further with these problems.

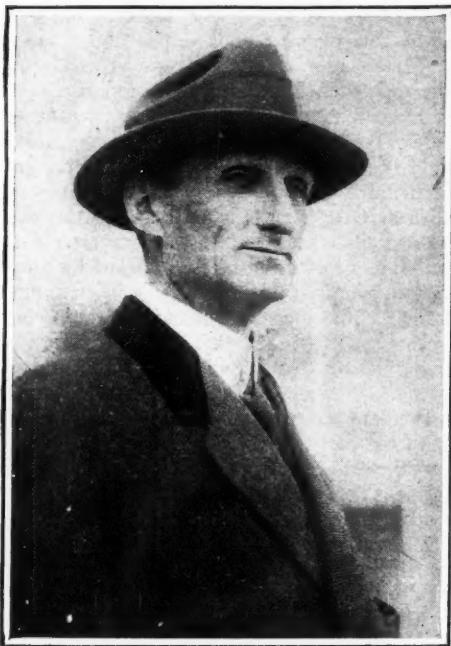
The New Cabinet Favorite

But the man most in the lime-light is a present rather than a former member of the Cabinet. Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer has brought to the office of the Attorney-General a personality that is very agreeable, while notably strong and fitted for combat whenever principles and convictions are at stake. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW an article by the well-known journalist and scholar, Mr. William T. Ellis, pointing out Palmer's fine qualities and praising his manly

and straightforward public career. He was a valuable member of Congress and made a high reputation in the war period as Custodian of Alien Property. His report issued in December as head of the Department of Justice shows the present range of Mr. Palmer's activities. The Department has been much concerned with the activities of alien agitators whose opposition to American institutions is criminal in its character. The war-time prohibition act has required a good deal of work in suppressing the illicit liquor traffic. The Department has also been concerned with the enforcement of war legislation relating to profiteering and the cost of living. The most notable of Mr. Palmer's immediate activities has been in connection with the coal crisis. His insistence upon injunctions against the leaders of the United Mine Workers was at the risk of political unpopularity in labor circles. The final adjustment of the strike on terms acceptable to the miners, while credited to President Wilson, was seemingly the result of efforts in which the Attorney-General took the leading part.

The People and the Primaries

The Democratic Convention of South Dakota, as we have already remarked, skilfully avoided premature advice to the Democratic voters in the March primaries, by declaring for Mr. Wilson himself. No one knows upon whose shoulders the Wilson mantle is to fall. Thus far the party has not shown much factional dissension. Mr. Wilson has been a skilful politician and a great party leader. He has been amazingly successful in holding together the Democratic cohorts on behalf of the adoption of the Versailles Treaty. The emergence of candidates, however, is not likely to be long deferred. The voters will express themselves definitely in the presidential primaries. They will not be guided, much less will they be controlled, by recommendations of leaders. The object of these primaries is to bring out the fullest expression. Some of the laws are so arranged that in voting for delegates to the National Convention the voter's opportunity to name his candidate for President is not very effective. Barely half of the States have as yet provided for presidential primaries; but in the list of those that do are many significant States. It will be for the best interests of both parties and of the country that voters should attend the primaries in great numbers, and express their preferences freely.



HON. WILLIAM G. MCADOO, EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

*Dates of
Presidential
Primary
Elections* New Hampshire leads in these primaries on March 9. Next comes North Dakota, March 16, and South Dakota, March 23. The Michigan voters express their presidential preferences on April 5. Neither party in Michigan is likely to present a local candidate. The New York primary on April 6 will be observed with especial interest. Illinois comes next on April 13, Nebraska on April 20, and Montana on April 23. April 27 will be a political date of especial interest for both parties, because on that date Ohio, New Jersey and Massachusetts all hold their presidential primaries. Our list shows some nine or ten such primaries scheduled for the month of May. Maryland comes first on May 3. Indiana and California are set down for May 4. Wyoming follows on May 10, while Pennsylvania and Vermont are scheduled for May 18. The Oregon primaries will be held May 21, and those of Texas and West Virginia on May 25. Florida has a presidential primary election on June 8, which is the very day of the opening of the Republican convention at Chicago, and therefore obviously without significance. Various other States have, of course, primary elections for the nomination of party officers; but so far as we are informed their

primaries do not provide for expression of presidential choice by the voters, or for the selection of national convention delegates.

*Pershing
and
Hoover*

Some surprises may be in store for us when the men and women of the country this year make use of the chance to record preferences in these primaries. The war period has developed some personalities on the national plane, regardless of parties. General Pershing's eminence has led many thousands of plain citizens to talk of him for the Presidency without any clue at all as to his party preferences. He is more usually regarded as a Democrat, and it has been suggested that if the Republicans nominate General Wood the Democrats may nominate General Pershing. Again, Mr. Herbert Hoover's name is constantly heard among women voters and plain citizens. It is the impression among many of these people that Hoover, more than anyone else, represents the United States in its relationships to the reconstruction of Europe and the world, and that he has a grasp of our home economic problems. Mr. Hoover's business and professional career has kept him in British and foreign residence during many years, but he is a typical Western American of California education. Republicans remember that Mr. Hoover wrote a letter in 1918 advocating the election of a Democratic Congress to support the Wilson policies. A Western Democrat of great distinction is reported to have sent the following message to the recent Republican gathering in Washington: "If you Republicans do not nominate Hoover, we Democrats will!" Doubtless this was said playfully, but many a truthful word has been spoken in jest.

*Senators
too
Busy*

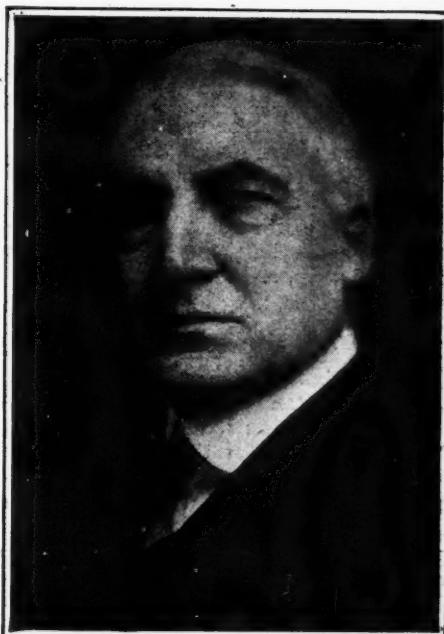
Senatorial leaders on both sides, like Mr. Cummins of Iowa, Mr. Kellogg of Minnesota, Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Mr. Underwood of Alabama, Mr. Knox of Pennsylvania and Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, all seem to have been too busy with their unending labors at the Capitol to have given thought to presidential aspirations. Senator Harding of Ohio, however, has been asked by the Ohio delegation at Washington to be a candidate, and his boom may survive until June as that of a worthy and much-liked "favorite son." The candidacy of Senator Poindexter of the State of Washington is avowed, and that of Hiram Johnson is also a definite fact.

*"Labor"
Now in
Politics*

The Democratic party, in recent campaigns, has had the benefit of the thoroughgoing support of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. Steps have been taken already to organize a Labor party for this year's campaign, but the organization as completed in Chicago late in November has not been endorsed as yet by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The Chicago platform of principles is so radical and sweeping that in some respects it seems to go beyond the practices, if not the principles, of the soviet government of Russia. That the American labor movement has become exceedingly radical is evident at every turn, and that it proposes to take a strong hand in politics this year is obvious to all but the blindest of observers. Even the so-called "conservative" labor leaders have in recent years made their headquarters at Washington, which is remote from industrial centers, because they have been chiefly concerned with legislation and matters of public policy. Whatever one might prefer, it is no longer possible to detach the political life of a country from its industrial life. This year the political labor movement will be dominantly radical. It will not do business with the Republican party. Neither will it do business with the Democratic party unless it virtually controls that organization, dictating to a considerable extent the platform of the party, and taking part, directly or indirectly, in the naming of the presidential ticket.

*Will Labor
Support a
Third Ticket?*

A series of principles and practices has been involved in the strikes and movements that brought Ole Hanson and Calvin Coolidge into prominence. Another series was involved in the steel strike and the first of President Wilson's Industrial Conferences at Washington. Still other questions of practise and of principle have been involved in the coal strike. Perhaps more important than any of these are the practical proposals involved in the Plumb plan for Government-Labor control of railroads. The railway Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and some other compact groups, are associated together for the political support of programs upon which they are in full agreement. The Republicans will be frankly opposed to these programs. It will not suffice for the Democrats this year to dodge the labor issues. If the Democratic plat-



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SENATOR WARREN G. HARDING, OF OHIO

form and candidate should not be satisfactory (1) to the advocates of the Plumb plan for railroad control, (2) to the proposal for nationalizing coal mines and certain other public utilities, and (3) to a further select list of reform proposals (many of them responsive to the spirit of the times and not without merit), we shall almost certainly have a third party in the field with a strong ticket and a positive platform. This third party movement of 1920 would not be in the hands of cranks or mere theorists or of Marxian doctrinaires, but under masterful control of a group of men disciplined in leadership, accustomed to exercise authority, and determined to secure power for purposes of their own, whether altruistic or tinged with private motives.

*Economic
Issues
Foremost*

In both of the old parties there are conspicuous and restless leaders of crusading temper who might be won over and placed on the ticket to support this third party program. It is enough to say that pending economic issues will present themselves in the election next November in broad, plain lines of cleavage. Any one who supposes that we are to wage a campaign of mere bickering between Republicans and Democrats, turning upon questions of extravagance or economy in war

expenditure, or upon details as to the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty, is not of an understanding mind. The very landmarks of the Constitution are at stake in the contest as it will shape itself. The present foundations of American society, resting upon freedom of opportunity for individual effort, may be affected for a century by the results of the election of this year. Furthermore, the political action of men and women in the primaries, and in the nominating conventions of June, must have a great bearing upon the result at the polls in November.

*Ending of
the Coal
Strike*

The bituminous coal strike came to an end with the announcement on December 10, sent out from Indianapolis, of the agreement upon terms proposed by President Wilson for immediate resumption of work. The terms thus accepted comprised, first, an average 14 per cent. wage increase to meet estimated advance in the cost of living since the last

previous wage adjustment, and, second, a study of the whole controversy by a commission to be appointed by the President which should deal with miners' demands and grievances, and with coal operators' profits. There was also the assurance that any further increase of wages as a result of the commission's work should date back to the time of resuming production. This strike of 400,000 coal miners had been stubborn beyond almost any other important strike in American experience. It subjected the innocent public to inconvenience and loss without need or excuse. Although the Washington administration seems to have assumed credit for ending the strike, the record, upon study, does not inspire much admiration. It was not good luck for the country that the Lever Act was still technically in force and that the Government undertook to head off the strike by injunction. The strike was called for November 1 and the President had issued official warning against it on October 25. An injunction was secured on the last day of October, but the strike began the next day and was apparently the more complete and unyielding because the injunction process had been used.

*A Failure in
Government
Control*

If the Lever Act had not existed, if there had been no Fuel Control Administration, and if the Federal Government had ignored the coal situation, it is probable that the strike would have been settled much sooner and that the public would have been spared great suffering. The Government's method prevented States, local communities and affected industries from acting efficiently on their own behalf. The miners had begun by demanding a wage increase of 60 per cent. and a six-hour day with a five-day week. The Government apparently had done little to secure the production of coal or to end the strike; and particular States and regions had merely been hampered in their local endeavors to go straight to the coal fields and obtain needed supplies. The public had been subjected to a multitude of minute restrictions as to the use of fuel, including reduction of railroad service. The Fuel Administrator, Dr. Garfield, had proposed a 14 per cent. increase of wages which should not be passed on to the consumers of coal. He was opposed to points in the settlement as finally made, and resigned. The small increase in wages is not now to be passed on in the form of increased coal prices to the



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GOVERNOR HENRY J. ALLEN OF KANSAS

(Before the settlement of the coal strike in December, Governor Allen had determined that the sovereign State of Kansas should save its own people from freezing. Control of the Kansas coal fields was assumed by the State, and hundreds of volunteer workers, including students from colleges and universities and men from all walks of life, proceeded to the mines and began production in successful quantities. But for Federal intervention, it is probable that local action of various sorts under such leadership as that of Governor Allen would have settled the strike in a manner much more satisfactory than the compromise, made by the Federal authorities with the miners' union. Governor Allen attended the Republican gatherings at Washington, and now ranks as one of the foremost leaders of the party)



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THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

The new Industrial Conference is as different as possible from its predecessor in structure and in methods of work. The first conference was selected and organized on the highly fallacious theory that three separate groups of members, representing "labor", "capital" and "public", might confer together and find some useful solutions for current social and industrial disturbances. The present conference properly excludes special and selfish interests, and represents the public interest solely. It is a notably strong and able group of men. It is not bothering about the settlement of particular disputes, and its work will be aided by the fact that the coal strike is settled for the present and that the steel strike is practically ended. In the picture above, seated from left to right, are Julius Rosenwald of Chicago (head of Sears, Roebuck & Co.); Ex-Gov. Henry C. Stuart of Virginia; Ex-Gov. Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts; Ex-Atty.-Gen. Thomas W. Gregory; Mr. Stanley King, and Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, who presides. Standing are Pres. Henry C. Waters, distinguished agricultural educator; Ex-Gov. Martin H. Glynn of New York; Mr. Richard Hooker (behind Governor Glynn); Mr. Herbert Hoover; Pres. W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University; Hon. Oscar Straus of New York; Ex-Atty.-Gen. George W. Wickersham; Mr. Henry M. Robinson; Prof. F. W. Taussig of Harvard and of the Tariff Board; and Mr. Owen D. Young.

public; but the consumers would gladly have paid a little more for coal to have been spared the disaster of the strike. Nothing gained for any party to the conflict in the final settlement furnishes the shadow of an excuse for the stoppage of coal mining; nor has any step taken by the Government, from beginning to end, lent any new strength to arguments for the Governmental regulation and management of industries. The coal mining business is highly local in its variations and therefore hard to regulate on any general terms or principles. The Government's Fuel Administration was a war measure intended to stimulate maximum production, regardless of expense. It was probably necessary for war purposes, but it is not adapted to times of peace.

*Faithful
Public
Servants* The appearance of annual reports calls attention to the work of the Government departments, vastly extended in most cases, and helping to swell the aggregate of some five billions of dollars that it is now going to cost us each year to carry on the business of the nation, as centered in its Federal administration. The thoughtful citizen cannot read these reports without finding himself con-

vinced of the intelligence and good faith of the department chiefs. The voice of prejudice mentions certain public officials with ready sneers and the habit of detraction. It takes some knowledge of affairs to do justice to good work. A Republican predecessor like James Wilson, for example, would not be likely to speak ill of the general work of the Agricultural Department under Secretary Houston. Mr. Oscar Straus or Mr. George B. Cortelyou would not find that Secretary Redfield had failed to serve the country well in his office as head of the Department of Commerce. Assuredly Mr. James R. Garfield and other previous Secretaries of the Interior would praise the intelligent and faithful public service of the Hon. Franklin K. Lane.

*Frank Lane
and
His Services* Mr. Lane's latest report is one of the most fascinating volumes that has issued from the holiday season press. He is never dull, and his constructive imagination commands a sprightly style even in the composing of public documents. The principal theme of his present report is: "Coal, electricity and petroleum as the three sources of light, heat and power, and the need for the adoption of certain con-

structive policies affecting their production and distribution." Mr. Lane is our best interpreter of "conservation," and he analyzes the coal situation, the water-power problem and various phases of petroleum production and demand, as bearing upon the country's future. He states once more his land policies in terms that to us are convincing. Alaska and its new railroad are favorite themes with Mr. Lane; and the training of young Americans is a topic he chooses for his climax and peroration. Mr. Lane had served notably on the Interstate Commerce Commission for a number of years, having been brought from California by President Roosevelt. He has now been veritable master and people's trustee of the country's physical domains for nearly seven years. His successor, whether Democratic or Republican, will study his reports with admiration and will find his policies for the most part worthy to be adopted and continued.

Mr. Glass Ends a year at the Exchequer

We announced last month the death of Senator Martin of Virginia and the appointment of Secretary Glass of the Treasury Department to the vacant seat. Secretary Glass did not immediately assume his new post, however, but remained to complete a year as Mr. McAdoo's successor. His report, while dealing with very large figures of taxation, expenditures and indebtedness, is optimistic. He finds the floating debt about to disappear, and current taxation in the near future equal to all expenditures of the Government, including interest and sinking fund charges on the funded debt. Besides clear statements dealing with our national finances, Mr. Glass presents a very important résumé of the financial relations of the United States with European governments. The Secretary declares that Government expenditure is the most vital factor in increasing the cost of living. He therefore urges rigid economy in appropriations and taxation to meet the Government's needs. He continues to oppose the excess profits tax in distinction from a proper war profits tax. The public debt of the United States at the beginning of November was, in round figures, \$26,000,000,000. The report includes a summary of various services that fall under the direction of the Secretary, including the great business of Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance. The Secretary makes a strong argument for a budget system to secure proper

management of the income and outgo of the Government. Mr. Glass deals with this subject out of abundant knowledge and experience from long service in Congress. He advocates the preparation of the budget by the Secretary of the Treasury on behalf of the President, and would have appropriations considered by a single committee in each house of Congress.

Mr. Baker and the Army

The report of Mr. Baker, as Secretary of War, begins with a broad and high-spirited review of the major facts of our participation in the Great War. The sudden termination of the war, with our effort as planned only half developed, precipitated the problems of demobilization which Mr. Baker also reviews. He refers to the report of General Pershing, which was published soon afterward, as a document containing much material of general interest. Probably the most important portion of Secretary Baker's report is that which deals with the question of permanent army organization. This subject is one of such magnitude that we shall defer it for more thorough future treatment. We may, however, quote Mr. Baker's statement that the military policy recommended by him and his Department "involve a new Army, created with a new spirit, having wide civic usefulness, and of such size and organization as to be an adequate reliance in case of need." He makes an extended argument against an independent aviation service, and suggests that in addition to the separate aircraft work of the Army, the Navy, and the Post Office, there should be a Joint Board for purposes of harmony and cooperation.

Daniels Praises the Navy

Secretary Daniels tells of the Navy's work in helping to bring the soldiers home—a very brilliant record in every way. He describes also breaking up of naval bases in France, Great Britain and the Azores, and here again the record is one of efficiency. We had soon reduced the man power of the Navy from 500,000 to 132,000, not including several hundred thousand Naval Reserves released from active duty. Mr. Daniels declares that the Navy has not lost sight of the future, and that its symmetry is unimpaired. Our naval strength is now next to that of Great Britain and far beyond that of any third power. The Secretary holds as firmly to naval aviation as Mr. Baker does to military

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aviation. He tells also the brilliant story of sweeping up the 50,000 mines that our Navy had planted in the North Sea. The sentiment of the country, insofar as we understand it, is in favor of a skeletonized Army reduced to the lowest possible limit of safety and of expenditure. The personnel or almost 4,000,000 men, highly trained in war period, will be available in any emergency for at least a dozen years to come. We need to maintain military material, and to introduce gradually some system of training. The Navy, for some years to come, should be supported without hesitation upon a very large scale, this being our most necessary means of security and protection in a turbulent world.

Prohibition a Settled Policy It was significant that the Republicans in their formal and informal gatherings at Washington last month were overwhelmingly in favor of supporting the policy of permanent prohibition. They were for enforcing prohibition laws, and for trying to help the country realize the substantial benefits to be derived from abolition of the liquor traffic. All through the last months and weeks of the year 1919, court actions were pending and efforts were being made to find outlets for the large quantities of liquor in storage before the country should have entered upon the period of permanent constitutional prohibition due to begin on January 16. Court decisions here and there—as in St. Louis, where liquor that had paid the revenue taxes was thrown upon the market—gave temporary life to the defunct liquor traffic and operated to salvage a part of the loss of distillers and brewers. Taking the country as a whole, however, the prohibition régime had already been accepted as a matter of course, and money that had formerly been expended for alcoholic drinks had been diverted to other and better forms of personal and social satisfaction. The Supreme Court was unanimous in a decision rendered on Dec. 15 fully sustaining the temporary war-time prohibition enactment.

Changing a Nation's Habits This great national change of habit and custom has come by degrees. Local enactments had made most of the territory of the country "dry" before the Constitutional Amendment was enacted. The war impulse had much to do with the final victory of the Prohibitionists. That the habit of using alcoholic stim-

ulants will continue to assert itself in various ways is to be expected, and the dignity and success of the law will require vigilance in enforcement. But, speaking at large, the liquor business has disappeared because it can no longer have a legal standing, and because the vast amounts of capital hitherto invested in the manufacture of alcoholic drinks and in their wholesale and retail distribution will all have passed into other forms of enterprise, while the many thousands of workers in what were lawful occupations will, as law-abiding citizens, have turned to other kinds of effort. There is great demand for housing and business premises of all sorts, and there could not be a better time for drinking saloons to go out of business, or to reorganize as restaurants, groceries, or soda and candy shops. The country as a whole will gain in large aggregate amounts, while the liquor people themselves will lose far less than some of their defenders had estimated.

War Risk and the Soldiers

Since the publication of the article on War Risk Insurance in the November number of this REVIEW there have been many indications of the interest taken by the whole country in the work of this important Government Bureau. The National Convention of the American Legion in session at Minneapolis in November adopted resolutions recommending the passage of legislation now pending in the Senate which provides increased compensation for disabled men, extends the classes of persons to whom insurance may be payable, and provides for the payment of converted insurance in a lump sum or instalments, covering three years or more, at the option of the insured. The convention also favored the House bill permitting the establishment by the Bureau of fourteen regional offices, and also authorizing the Bureau to advertise in newspapers and periodicals in order to inform service men of their rights under the law. Director R. G. Cholmeley-Jones of the War Risk Bureau last month invited the State Commanders of the American Legion of every State in the Union, together with the National Commander and National Adjutant, to meet at Washington on December 15 for a three-days' session in which all matters concerning the relations of the Bureau to former service men and their beneficiaries and dependents were to be considered. The Bureau is seeking closer co-operation with soldiers' organizations.



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THE HON. JOSHUA WILLIS ALEXANDER OF MISSOURI

(Who succeeds Mr. Redfield as Secretary of Commerce in President Wilson's Cabinet. Mr. Alexander, of Galatin, Mo., has been in Congress from his District for the past twelve years. He was previously a Missouri judge)

A Trade Balance of Four Billion Dollars The annual report of the Secretary of Commerce shows that in the fiscal year ending June 30, the United States established a new high record for a year's trade balance in the history of the world's commerce. The amount of exports and the amount of imports will reach also new high marks in our history. Exports amounted to more than seven billion dollars, while imports passed the three billion dollar mark. A striking feature of the report is the statement that the world's merchant fleets have so increased in tonnage as to have passed the pre-war figures, in spite of the losses occasioned by war. Furthermore, the ships now under construction are more than double the number under way before the war. The greatest gain in merchant ships has come, of course, in the United States, where the steel steamships now aggregate six million gross tons, four times as much as in 1914, and are increasing at the rate of 350,000 tons monthly. "The annual output of our shipyards exceeded the greatest annual output of the world's shipyards before 1914. Steel shipbuilding plants have been extended or established with new ma-

chinery, methods, housing and transit accommodations and in some respects superior to those abroad. American tonnage, clearing and overseas trade in the fiscal year of 1919, was six times greater than in 1914." This is Mr. Redfield's retiring report.

Trade with Germany

Of our seven billion dollars of exports, Europe took \$4,600,000,000; North America, \$1,290,000,000; Asia, \$603,000,000, and South America, \$400,000,000. In the trade with Germany for the ten months since the armistice, the United States has exported \$52,400,000, while imports from Germany have been only \$4,900,000. During this time, Great Britain exported to Germany goods valued at more than \$80,000,000 and received imports of something over \$1,000,000. America, however, seems to be rapidly overhauling Great Britain in the work of supplying German needs; our October exports alone were more than \$20,000,000, or 40 per cent. of the amount for the whole ten months. The English started in with a rush to secure German trade. It is said that agents came along with the British army into the occupied territory and that under encouragement of the British Government some three thousand commercial travelers have come into Germany by way of Cologne, since its occupation.

The Depreciated German Mark Germany is still importing more goods than she is sending to foreign countries in spite of a remarkable expansion in her export trade during the past half year, due largely to the great depreciation of the mark, and to the further fact that prices in Germany, while very high indeed, have not increased in many cases nearly as much as the mark has depreciated. Thus, Scandinavian and other merchants have been rushing to Germany and buying leather manufactures, optical goods, drugs, medicine and a variety of other things and getting them at bargain prices, as compared with those quoted in other countries, simply because while the mark had fallen to less than one-eighth (later, to one-twelfth) of its normal level, the prices of these goods have not in many cases increased eight-fold. Indeed, it is stated that the general level of prices has not risen half as much as the mark has fallen. That under these circumstances, Germany's import trade should still greatly exceed her export trade, is to be explained simply by the fact that the

war left her stripped of many classes of goods which she must now have at any price.

Sensational Decline in English Exchange While the depreciation of the German mark has gone greatly further in mathematical terms, it has had no such effect of disturbing the finance of the world, especially of America, as the continued decline in the pound sterling measured in dollars. When Sir George Paish, England's brilliant economist, predicted some months ago that the pound sterling would soon be exchanged for less than four dollars, the matter seemed sensational enough. This depreciated figure was passed on November 20, and in the first weeks of December the process was continued so rapidly that by December 12 one could purchase the English pound for \$3.66½, a quotation far below any that has ever been known since there were pounds and dollars. It was only last April that sterling exchange in New York fell below the fixed rate of \$4.76, which was an artificial or "pegged" rate maintained by the British Treasury through its New York agents. Investment markets have taken this decline in very bad part and the stock market has been seriously unsettled and lower in its range of quotations, owing to uncertainty as to when this remarkable movement would stop, and to the absence of any effective effort to stop it. Two causes are given by international bankers as the chief ones for the progressive decline in sterling. First, trade is going almost entirely eastward and in unprecedented volume, while little is coming to the United States. Second, the English pound is virtually diluted through inflation, and the present rates of exchange are tending to express its comparative worth against that of the dollar.

Uncertain Fate of the Railroads Congress made no progress, during the month ending with December 15, on the Cummins bill, reorganizing our railroad policy and providing for the return of the roads to their private owners. That railroad baiting is still a popular political device, in spite of the lessons of the past and the very critical situation facing the country's transportation service, was shown in the obstructive speeches in the Senate, assailing Mr. Cummins' measure and railroad management, and attempting to prove that the transportation properties are really in fine shape financially and able to earn satisfactory profits

from now on. The simple facts are that with the much advertised economies of unit operation under the Government administration, the earnings of the roads have in the first ten months of 1919 fallen behind the standard return by no less than \$269,000,000—and this with inadequate maintenance of way and equipment—and that a goodly fraction of them must promptly go into receivership if they are turned back to their owners in the immediate future without Government guarantees or rates that will persuade the investors of the country to lend money for their vital needs and buy their new issues of capital stock.

Railroad Securities Taboo There is not a banker in America who would now dare to bring out a new issue of railroad bonds on any livable interest terms, much less undertake to sell railroad stock. For candy concerns, motor companies, oil promotions, moving picture combinations, tire manufacturers, chain stores, clothing enterprises, steel works, the public has money by the hundreds of millions, but it is not in the least willing to trust its dollars in our standard railways. All the effects of high costs of production felt by the industrial concerns are felt by the railways; but the industrial concerns are selling their product at an advance of a hundred per cent. or more over pre-war figures while the railroads are held to less than one-third of such an advance. As Howard Elliott, President of the Northern Pacific, recently put it: "A day's pay, or a unit quantity of any article of commerce, will purchase far more transportation, both freight and passenger, to-day than ever before in the history of the country." With still higher prices for fuel facing them in 1920, higher taxes and great expenditures for equipment and maintenance of way to catch up after the neglect of the war period, the roads will collapse unless liberal and enlightened treatment is soon forthcoming, and this at a time when the growth and activity of the country's trade will make an unprecedented need for transportation service.

A Great Street Railway's Troubles The current troubles of the railroads are not greater, except in dimensions and effect on the country's general industry, than those of the street railways and various other public utility concerns selling their product at a fixed rate during a period when all the ele-

ments of cost entering into the turning out of the product have been soaring. The most notable example in America is that of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City, which has in the past ten years so greatly extended its lines by costly new construction in virtual partnership with the city and under contracts specifying the continuance of the five cent fare. Although the Interborough is gaining in traffic at the rate of 100,000,000 passengers a year, a careful report recently compiled for its bankers shows that under the five-cent fare and with present costs of operation the company will fall short of earning its fixed charges for the year ending June 30, 1920, by more than \$8,000,000. This deficit will not include, either, any charge for \$100,000,000 invested by the City in the Interborough's ambitious program of extension. This very intelligent and comprehensive report also indicates that, had unit costs of operation remained stable, the road could, even with the five-cent fare, have weathered the inevitable stormy years when traffic was gradually growing for its new mileage. With the highly unstable and increased cost of operation, however, the operating ratio increased from 45.5 per cent. in 1916 to 67.9 per cent. in 1919—equivalent to about \$10,000,000 for the year. The example is of special interest not only because of its metropolitan dimensions, but also because the carefully drawn contracts, open to everyone, under which the subways were constructed are assurance that the money contributed by investors was actually spent in building subways, and that the misfortunes that have come were due to economic causes and not to financial exploitation.

Our Peace-Time Budget The estimates of the Treasury Department for the national expenditures of the next fiscal year total, including the deficiency bills, are \$5,429,000,000. It was not so many years ago that a noted statesman had to defend a budget of less than one-fifth this amount with the reminder that "This is a billion dollar country." For the next year, the Army asks for \$989,000,000, the Navy for \$542,000,000, while pensions account for \$215,000,000 and miscellaneous items mount up to \$834,000,000. In the last schedule no less than \$247,000,000 is asked for the Treasury Department, reflecting the enormous costs of collecting federal taxes and enforcing the prohibition law. The Shipping

Board estimates its needs at \$448,000,000 to complete its program for restoring the American flag to the seas. The Federal Board for Vocational Education asks for \$40,000,000 to be expended largely in reconstruction work with soldiers disabled in the World War. A beginning of the process of extinguishing the national debt is shown in a sinking fund item of \$287,500,000. The interest on our public debt is now well over \$1,000,000,000 per year. At the same time that these estimates are published of expenditures for another year comes Commissioner Roper's report on the actual result of our taxing program for the past year. The estimate of the present revenue law's yield during its first year was six billion dollars, and this figure will be closely approached by the actual collections. The first two installments alone of income and excess profits taxes exceeded \$2,600,000,000, and the revenue from tobacco showed an unexpected increase, the total from this source amounting to \$206,000,000. This large tobacco revenue reflected the extraordinary growth in the consumption of cigarettes. The number manufactured last year was eight times as great as the product of the year 1910, and totaled 45,500,000,000.

Treaty Still In Partisan Deadlock As the date approached that had been previously fixed for the Christmas recess of Congress, the nation's hope that the peace treaty might first be ratified was extinguished. On December 14, an official statement was issued from the White House in the following language:

It was learned from the highest authority at the Executive Offices today that the hope of the Republican leaders of the Senate that the President would presently make some move which will relieve the situation with regard to the Treaty is entirely without foundation.

He has no compromise or concession of any kind in mind, but intends, so far as he is concerned, that the Republican leaders of the Senate shall continue to bear the undivided responsibility for the fate of the treaty and the present condition of the world in consequence of that fate.

This statement was not well received by the public at large. The issues at stake were too great for the flaunting of partisanship on either side. The Democratic minority in the Senate, which prevented a two-thirds acceptance of reservations, is precisely as responsible for the failure of ratification as the Republican majority which supported the Lodge resolution. Ratification with cer-

tain modifications as set forth in this REVIEW last month would leave the President's treaty unimpaired in value, would lift the great issue of peace above mere partisanship, and would—according to information and belief—be in no manner unacceptable to our Allies and friends in Europe. It would seem to be the clear duty of Senators, regardless of party, to agree upon reservations, and to consolidate that two-thirds majority in favor of the treaty that was shown to exist.

The President's Message

The country was much relieved last month to be assured of the steadily improving health of President Wilson. This relief was on grounds of personal regard and sympathy, but also on grounds of the public welfare. Situations and measures of the most profound importance at this time turn largely upon White House decisions, and therefore require that the President be mentally and physically able to meet the exacting duties of his office. Following the retirement of Secretary Redfield, and the transfer of Secretary Glass to the Senate, it is expected that there will be other Cabinet changes in the near future. The President's illness has, of necessity, enhanced the importance of the Cabinet as the President's official advisers. The President's message at the opening of Congress was read in both Houses on December 2. It wholly omitted the expected discussion of the ratification of the peace treaty. It also omitted the other issue of pressing importance—that of railroad legislation. A later message on this subject was promised, and it was anxiously awaited as the Senate's debate on the Cummins bill dragged along too slowly. The message advocated a budget system; urged changes in the tax laws to apply after the next fiscal year; argued for a tariff policy based upon our new trade position, that requires imports to pay for exports; outlined a program of help for farmers; asked the extension of the present Food Control Act; referred to labor problems and the Industrial Conference; and extolled the labor principles of the League of Nations as offering the only road to industrial peace. The document is one of President Wilson's best state papers.

December Conference at London

The tone of some of the speeches on the peace treaty and the attitude of certain newspapers might convey the impression that the Government and people of the United States are drifting



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TWO DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF THE SENATE

(Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska and Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama are well fitted intellectually and by reason of political skill and experience for leadership of the Democratic minority in the upper house at Washington. Both have been prominent in the struggle to ratify the peace treaty)

from good to bad in their foreign relationships. This impression is helped by the comments of a few British and other European newspapers. But, fortunately, it is not quite justified by the facts. The priceless help rendered by America to Europe will not be forgotten; and thoughtful Europeans understand that post-war adjustments are almost as difficult on this side of the Atlantic as on their own. They know that the United States will, in real emergencies, continue to act in a responsible way toward issues of world peace and of world finance. There was held last month in London a conference of the highest importance, attended by Premier Clemenceau, by a member of the Italian Cabinet, and by the American and Japanese Ambassadors. It is believed that this conference showed European willingness to accept American treaty reservations. Various questions growing out of the Peace Conference were advanced toward settlement by this London meeting. The great countries that fought together to win the war will have to stand together to make the peace valuable and permanent, whether or

not the League of Nations as framed in the Versailles Treaty is inaugurated in the near future. The settling down process is going forward in many parts of Europe more substantially than the news dispatches would indicate to the average reader.

A Peaceful Europe Emerging

To justify such a statement, one has only to recall many "storm centers" which existed in Europe a few months ago and which have now given way to comparative tranquillity. Rumania has withdrawn her troops from Hungary; Poland has ceased to fight for territorial expansion in various directions; Lithuania has arranged an armistice providing for immediate withdrawal of zealous German troops; Italy and Jugoslavia are reported to be approaching a compromise; and so on. It must not be forgotten, either, that during recent months the peace treaty itself has successfully passed through one threatened crisis after another, and was ready last month for formal exchange of ratifications—the real end of the war. For a time it had seemed that Germany might balk at the protocol presented for signature by the Allies, possibly gaining encouragement in such a stand by the failure of the treaty in the United States Senate. But both Germany and the Allies adopted conciliatory attitudes—in regard to indemnity for interned warships sunk by German crews in

Scapa Flow, and to repatriation of prisoners and surrender of war culprits—and the protocol was about to be signed when these lines were written. Another favorable incident was the signing of the treaty with Bulgaria, at Neuilly, on November 27, leaving only the one with Turkey to be arranged. Mr. Frank L. Polk represented the United States, and soon afterward the American peace delegation left Paris for home. The Russian situation remains an unfathomed mystery, with both Kolchak and Yudenitch apparently in eclipse. The All-Russian government has divorced the military from the civil government and established a new cabinet headed by M. Pepeliaoff.

French Politics and Government

The importance of the French elections of November 16 has been gradually impressed upon people in other countries. The governing power in France is exercised by the Chamber of Deputies, very much as British control is vested in the House of Commons. The entire Chamber of Deputies has been renewed, and the new Chamber assembled on December 8. This body will remain in office until May, 1924. In the present month of January a new President of the French Republic is to be elected; but this will not occur until a few days after the election on January 11 of two-thirds of the Senate. There are 300 Senators, elected for nine-year terms, one-third retiring every three years; but, because no election was held during the war period, this month's election finds 200 rather than 100 seats to fill in the upper house. The President is elected for a term of seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies sitting together as a National Assembly. Including the new members from Alsace and Lorraine, there are 616 Deputies, so that the two houses comprise more than 900 men. The former strength of the Socialists in the Chamber under the leadership of Jaurès has almost wholly vanished. The election amounted to a remarkable vote of confidence in Clemenceau, General Foch, and the European policy of these leaders. It is fully expected that Clemenceau will be elected President. The small farmer rose in his strength in the November election; and when he chooses, he can always rule France. He voted overwhelmingly against the labor agitators of industrial communities, and repudiated Bolshevik ideas. The soldiers stood with the peasants against syndicalists and socialistic labor unions.



WILL THEY LET HIM IN?
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

Italy's Hero Triumphs

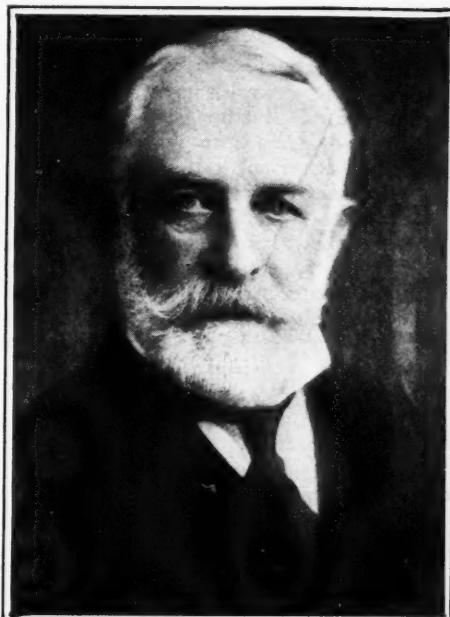
In the Italian elections, the Socialists were much more successful, although they are not in control. The Italian Government seeks social stability through a revival of industry; and to this end is endeavoring to obtain raw materials and supplies from the United States. The adventure of Captain D'Annunzio at Fiume has been completely recognized by the Italian Government, and the hero last month returned to receive the plaudits of his countrymen, having turned over Fiume to the regular military authorities. France and England had, it would seem, given consent to the retention of Fiume by Italy. This undoubtedly was preliminary to a compromise regarding other parts of the Dalmatian coast; but just what ports on the Adriatic are to be reserved for the Jugo-Slavs, Hungarians and Austrians was not clearly stated.

The Baffling Mexican Situation

The attention of the whole world was attracted by the strain of relations between our Government and that of Mexico in November on account of proceedings that related to an American Consular Agent at Puebla named William O. Jenkins. Mr. Jenkins, earlier in the autumn, had been reported kidnapped and held for ransom by bandits. Money had been advanced and his release obtained. Subsequently he was arrested by the local Puebla authorities on the charge that the kidnapping had been trumped up and collusive. It was the position of our Government at Washington that this arrest was improper and that Mr. Jenkins must be released at once. Carranza's Foreign Office held that Jenkins was properly subject to trial at Puebla on the charges. Secretary Lansing was peremptory, and at length someone gave bail in the small sum required and Jenkins was temporarily released and the crisis was reported as having been averted. We were in imminent danger of having a bloody war precipitated through an incident which would seem to have been unwisely handled on both sides. Mexico under Carranza has been as baffling a problem to the Wilson Administration as Russia under Lenin and Trotzky has been to Western Europe.

The Frick Beneficence

Early in December the death of Mr. Henry C. Frick led to much discussion in the public press regarding his acquisition of a great



THE LATE HENRY C. FRICK, OF NEW YORK AND PITTSBURGH

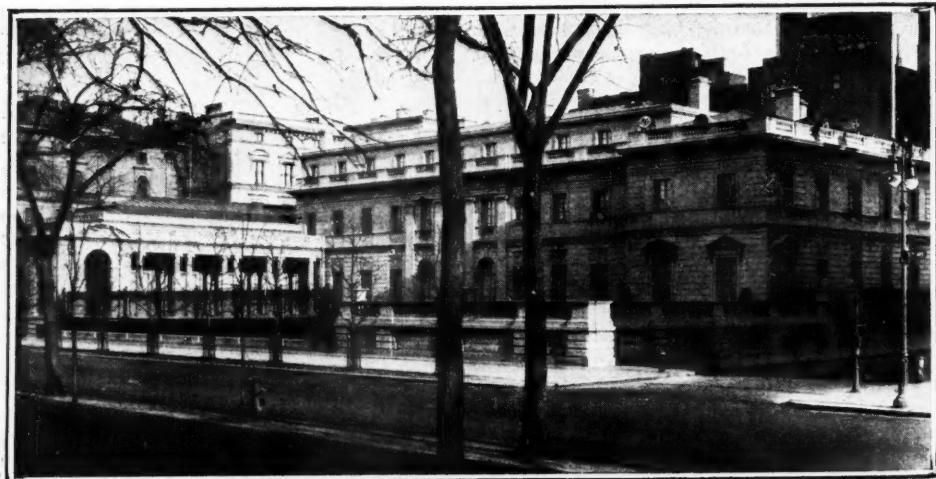
(Mr. Frick was a leader in the steel industry and the Pennsylvania Railroad system, and was the largest coke producer in the world.)

fortune, and the disposition of many millions by terms of a will that was promptly made public. Mr. Frick had been associated in business with the late Mr. Carnegie and others, who had acquired wealth through development of the coal and iron resources of Pennsylvania. Whether his estate will have amounted to \$200,000,000 or to a considerably smaller sum is merely a matter of fluctuating valuations. The fortune in any case is a very large one, and about four-fifths of it are given by the will to public objects. Mr. Carnegie's fortune had been twice as large as that of Mr. Frick, and an even greater proportion of it had been given outright or placed in the hands of trustees for the public welfare. The largest single item among the Frick bequests is a magnificent collection of works of art in New York City. These art objects, together with the palatial residence in which they are housed, are given to the public and placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees, together with \$15,000,000 for the maintenance and further enrichment of this "Frick Collection." This is a gift not to one city but to the entire country. In England, France, Germany, Italy and Austria,

there are great governmental collections of art objects. The time will come, doubtless, in this country, when the public will possess immense wealth in art works as well as in libraries. But for a long time to come we shall owe much to the public spirited attitude of private collectors who secure famous art works in Europe and ultimately place them in public museums for the instruction and pleasure of us all. Mr. Frick was a trustee of Princeton and his will provides a large sum for the endowment of that University, with a noble gift also to Harvard and many princely legacies to institutions in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.

Large Wealth and the Public A question has arisen, according to the press, regarding the application of national and State inheritance taxes to some of these gifts for public purposes. The moral is that the great fortunes in this country are steadily passing from private control to direct objects of public welfare. In Germany today the necessity of raising money to pay indemnity installments due to Belgium and France requires the taxation of large fortunes at a higher rate than was ever known before in Europe. Yet, it has been pointed out, these new German taxes are not at as high a rate as the surtaxes that are now levied in the United States upon the incomes of the very wealthy. Where it happened that, as in the case of the late Viscount Astor, the owner of property in this country was resident in England, income taxes

are levied and collected in both countries to an aggregate in some cases exceeding the entire income, thus absorbing a part of the principal. The country, from the economic standpoint, is in more danger from a diffused extravagance that wastes resources by consuming what ought to be saved than from the use of great fortunes in private hands. Most of this private wealth is in the form of productive capital, and, as in the case of the railroads, such capital renders public service while securing a low rate of compensation. Whatever truth there might have been at one time in the assertion that the rich were growing richer and the poor were growing poorer, there is no longer much economic significance in such a viewpoint. Captains of industry like the late Mr. Frick have enormously increased the diffused wealth of the country through their power to organize and develop the instrumentalities of large production. It ought not to be so easy in the future as it was in the past for such industrial leaders to make large private fortunes. In the case of Mr. Frick, as in that of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller, the amassing of wealth is made subordinate to the public spirit of the possessor. Workers in the industries controlled by Mr. Frick and his associates have had their hardships and grievances; but they have probably gained more than they have suffered through the higher organization of production at the hands of the leaders of big business, as contrasted with the smaller employers and capitalists of the same period.



THE FRICK MANSION AT FIFTH AVENUE AND 70TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, WHICH HOUSES THE FRICK COLLECTION AND IS A GIFT TO THE PUBLIC

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 25 to December 16, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 1.—The Sixty-sixth Congress meets in its first regular session, after an interval of eleven days from the sudden adjournment of the special session.

December 2.—In both branches, the President's annual message is read; he recommends consideration of tax revision downward, relief for ex-soldiers, and measures to reduce the cost of living; in regard to labor, he urges Congress to "help bring about a genuine democratization of industry." The Senate resumes consideration of the Cummins Railroad bill.

December 5.—The Senate committee of two members, named to discuss the Mexican situation with the President (still confined to his sick room), is received in extended conference.

December 8.—In the Senate, a letter from the President to Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) is read, commenting on the pending resolution to break diplomatic relations with Mexico, and declaring that the President should be "gravely concerned" to see the resolution pass.

In the House, Mr. Good (Rep., Ia.), chairman of the Appropriations Committee, estimates that \$5,250,000,000 will be asked of Congress, but declares that appropriations must not exceed \$4,000,000,000. . . . A sub-committee framing an army-reorganization bill decides to recommend a peacetime strength of 300,000.

December 12.—The Senate passes a measure continuing through 1920 the Government's control of the distribution and price of sugar.

December 13.—The Senate debates responsibility for the failure to pass the peace treaty.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 26.—Fuel Administrator Garfield proposes that the coal operators grant a 14 per cent. wage increase without additional cost to the public; the operators accept, but the miners' representatives declare that the plan means starvation wages.

The Treasury Department makes public memorandum of coal operators' profits, based on corporation taxes paid; in 1914 and 1915 they lost money, in 1916 they made from 10 to 35 per cent. profit, in 1917 from 100 to 150 per cent., and in 1918 from 15 to 300 per cent.

November 27.—The coal conference at Washington, in session since November 14, comes to an end without agreement.

November 28.—More than 3500 Kansans respond to Governor Allen's call for 1000 volunteers to work in the coal mines and relieve the fuel shortage.

November 29.—A federal grand jury in Michigan indicts United States Senator Newberry and 133 others on charges relating to illegal expenditure of large sums in the primary and election campaigns of 1918.

December 1.—A second National Industrial

Conference, called by the President, meets in Washington and selects Secretary of Labor Wilson as chairman.

The annual estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury call for appropriations by Congress totaling \$5,000,000,000; \$1,000,000,000 is for interest on the war debt, and \$1,500,000,000 for army and navy.

A report of the Director-General of Railroads shows a net operating loss in the ten months ended with October amounting to \$269,768,000.

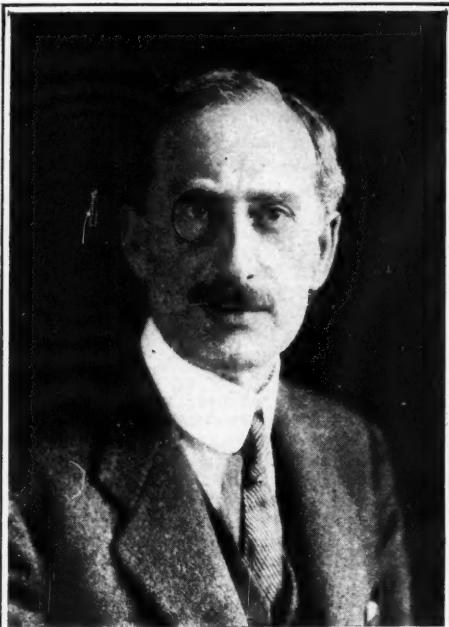
December 2.—Republicans and Democrats in South Dakota—delegates chosen by county conventions on November 18—meet in convention to endorse candidates; for President, the Democrats endorse Woodrow Wilson and the Republicans name Leonard Wood; for Senator, the Republicans select Governor Peter Norbeck and the Democrats renominate Edwin S. Johnson; for Governor, the Democrats name W. W. Howes.

Due to coal shortage, the Director-General of



Poorly clad and under-nourished children in the streets of Vienna

(Private and public dispatches from the Austrian capital have indicated that the entire city of two and a half millions faces a winter of intense suffering. Food, clothing, and fuel shortage have already raised the infant mortality to 60 per cent., according to Chancellor Renner, who has appealed frankly to the Allies for help. One of the agencies for relief is conducted by Mrs. Albert Halstead, wife of the American consul-general at Stockholm, through Schenker & Co., of Rotterdam, Holland)



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BARON ROMANO AVEZZANO, NEW ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES
(Who has already won wide approval by expressions of friendship and esteem on the part of his countrymen)

Railroads orders radical restrictions in passenger-train service and directs that no coal be furnished to foreign ships.

December 3-4.—The South Dakota legislature ratifies the woman-suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution.

December 4.—The President nominates Representative Joshua W. Alexander, of Missouri, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Governor Gardner of Missouri takes possession of coal mines, to operate them and relieve the distress of the people.

December 5.—Governor Robertson of Oklahoma declares martial law in the coal regions of the State, and himself leads volunteer miners.

The North Dakota legislature passes a bill empowering the Governor (after July 1, next) to take over any coal mine or other public utility when necessary for the protection of life and property.

December 6.—The President submits in writing a proposal for the settlement of the strike of soft-coal miners, involving immediate return to work, with a 14 per cent. increase in wages and appointment of a commission to consider further questions of wages and conditions.

December 8.—The Fuel Administrator issues regulations restricting the use of power, light, and heat in industrial establishments.

December 10.—The President's proposal is accepted by the miners' leaders, who for a second time call off the strike.

The Republican National Committee meets in

Washington and decides to hold the nominating convention in Chicago on June 8.

Governors of the six New England States meet at Boston and discuss national problems.

December 12.—The annual report of the Chairman of the Shipping Board states that 6,000,000 tons of vessels will have been delivered from American shipyards during 1919.

December 13.—Fuel Administrator Garfield resigns in protest against the coal-strike compromise; he declares that the proposed three-man commission leaves the one representative of the public in a minority.

December 14.—A statement issued from the White House, relative to the peace treaty in the Senate, declares that the President has no compromise in mind and that the Republican leaders "must continue to bear the undivided responsibility."

December 15.—The Supreme Court unanimously upholds the constitutionality of the so-called "wartime prohibition" act.

• FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 26.—Gen. Felipe Angeles, convicted of rebellion by a Mexican military court, is executed by a firing squad at Chihuahua; Angeles had been a supporter of Villa, but was the most popular Mexican leader along the border.

December 1.—Lady Astor, American-born wife of Viscount Astor, takes her seat in the British House of Commons, as the first woman member; as Unionist candidate, she defeated her Labor opponent by 5000 votes in a by-election on November 15.

The Italian Parliament is opened and addressed by King Victor Emmanuel, for the first time since the end of the war; the Socialist and Republican Deputies leave the hall, but the majority members extend enthusiastic greeting.

December 9.—In Costa Rica, Julio Acosta is elected President, to serve for four years from May, 1920.

December 12.—A ministry in Spain is formed by Manuel Allende Salazar, succeeding that of Premier Toca.

December 14.—The Australian elections result in the continuance in power of Premier William M. Hughes, supported by Liberals and National Laborites.

December 15.—Premier Lloyd George announces that no Irish bill will be introduced at this session.

A new Polish cabinet is formed (succeeding that of Premier Paderewski), headed by M. Skulski.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 25.—Baron Romano Avezzano arrives in the United States as new Ambassador from Italy.

November 26.—The Mexican Government refuses, on technical grounds, to order the release of William O. Jenkins, American consular agent at Puebla, imprisoned on charges of complicity in his own kidnapping.

November 27.—A treaty of peace with Bulgaria is signed at Neuilly, a suburb of Paris; Premier Clemenceau of France presides at the meeting, M. Stambulowski signs for Bulgaria, and Frank L. Polk signs for the United States; Rumania and

Serbia, two Balkan kingdoms most vitally concerned, are not permitted to sign until they accept the treaty with Austria.

November 30.—An armistice is signed by Germany and Lithuania, providing for the immediate withdrawal of German troops.

December 1.—The United States, in a note from Secretary Lansing, sweeps aside the Carranza government's defense of Mexican penal laws, declares that there has been a studied effort to ensnare Jenkins, and renews its request for immediate release from imprisonment.

The German Government refuses to sign the protocol which recognizes the fact that Germany has not fulfilled certain provisions of the peace treaty and which fixes additional indemnity for the sinking of the German fleet while interned in a British port.

December 5.—The tense relations between the United States and Mexico are relieved by the release of Consular Agent Jenkins.

December 8.—The Supreme Council informs the German delegation at Paris that it awaits "without delay" the signature of the protocol and the exchange of ratification of the peace treaty.

December 9.—American delegates participate in signing a Rumanian treaty which involves the withdrawal of Rumanian troops from Hungary.

The members of the American peace delegation leave Paris, after a year of participation in European readjustments.

December 11.—Premier Clemenceau of France arrives in London to discuss unsettled European conditions with Premier Lloyd George and with the American Ambassador.

December 13.—The German reply to the Allies, en route, is reported to be conciliatory and yielding.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 29.—The first International Labor Conference, meeting at Washington under provisions of the treaty of peace with Germany, comes to an end.

November 30.—Mr. Herbert Hoover, head of the American Relief Administration, makes report on the \$100,000,000 fund; \$12,000,000 in supplies was donated for children's relief, while \$88,000,000 worth of supplies was sold for Government notes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland.

December 1.—Department of Commerce reports show that exports to Germany from the United States during the first ten months of the year totaled \$52,420,000, with imports of \$4,914,000; British exports to Germany amounted to \$80,000,000.

December 2.—A mail-carrying airplane of a new type establishes a record flight from Washington to New York, 218 miles in 1 hour and 34 minutes (138 miles per hour).

December 5.—Street-car service in Toledo is resumed after a four-weeks' stoppage due to differences with city officials and voters over fares, the company gaining its point.

December 10.—An airplane flight from England to Australia, for a \$50,000 prize, is completed by Capt. Ross Smith, an Australian; he started from



LADY ASTOR, FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT—A CAMPAIGN SNAPSHOT

England on November 12, and flew by way of Egypt, India, the Malay Peninsula, and Java—approximately 11,500 miles.

Floods cause much property damage in low-lying sections of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

OBITUARY

November 25.—Countess Primo Magri ("Mrs. Tom Thumb"), the famous midget, 77.

November 26.—Robert R. Meredith, D.D., a widely known pastor of Boston, Brooklyn, and Pasadena, 83.

November 27.—Rev. Aaron Edward Ballard, D.D., for twenty years president of the association which maintains Ocean Grove, N. J., as a religious community, 98.

December 2.—Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, a distinguished British veteran of African and Indian wars, 81. . . . Henry Clay Frick, a pioneer in the coke and steel industries, art collector, and philanthropist, 70 (see page 23).

December 3.—Firmin Auguste Renoir, a distinguished French painter, 78.

December 5.—Prof. Elia Millosevich, director of the Rome Astronomical Observatory.

December 7.—J. Thompson Baker, a former Representative in Congress from New Jersey.

December 8.—Julian Alden Weir, noted American painter and former president of the National Academy of Design, 67. . . . Louis Valentine Pirsson, professor of physical geology at Sheffield Scientific School, 59.

December 10.—Simon Kuhn, a prominent Cincinnati banker and philanthropist, 62.

December 14.—William Salomon, the New York banker and railroad financier, 67.

December 15.—Sir John Jackson, a noted British civil engineer, 68.

THE CARTOONISTS' VIEWS ON CURRENT CONTROVERSIES



WITHOUT A LEAGUE OF NATIONS
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



POLITICS MAKES STRANGE BEDFELLOWS!
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)

AS true interpreters of public opinion, and of the news of the day, the cartoonists find many topics which lend them-

selves to pictorial presentation; but this survey of their work during the past month shows that they have paid by far the most

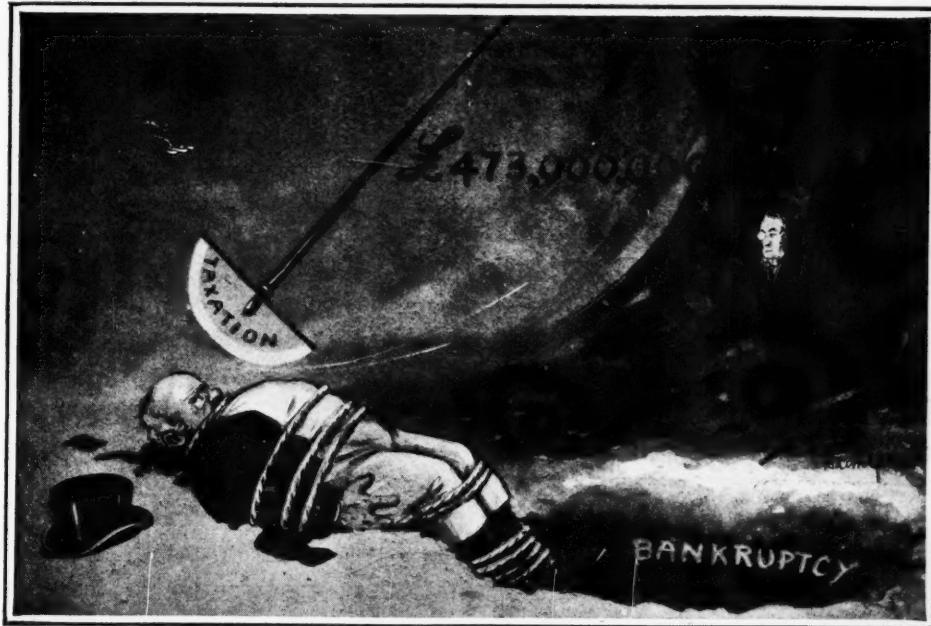


A NATION'S JUST A FAMILY, AFTER ALL
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



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"STOP PLAYING POLITICS"
From the *Evening World* (New York)



THE PIT OR THE PENDULUM
From the *Bystander* (London)

attention to the sequence of labor controversies which culminated in the coal miners' strike and to the final phases of peace-treaty discussion in the Senate.

It is already evident, however, that these topics will in turn give way to others. Cap-

tain Bruce Bairnsfather, in the cartoon above, draws a startling picture—based on Poe's famous story—of the possibilities of Britain's financial situation; but another British cartoonist represented on this page reminds us that John Bull has been much more successful than Uncle Sam in settling labor controversies.



WILSON-JONATHAN'S VIEW OF THE RIGHT OF
SMALL NATIONALITIES
From *Le Charivari* (Paris)



"I'D SOONER WALK!"
From the *Bystander* (London)



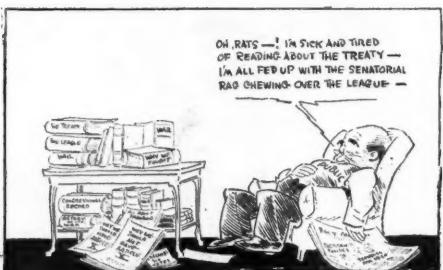
HOME AGAIN

By Satterfield, in *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS A LA U. S. SENATE
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada).

HE DID IT!

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED

By Reynolds, in the *Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)

THE WAY HE FEELS ABOUT IT

From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



DOES HE SEE THE POINT?
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



COMING SOONER OR LATER!
From the *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.)



"DON'T LAUGH AT THAT—I MADE A MISTAKE ONCE"
From the *Times* (New York)



THE MODERN ST. GEORGE
By Armstrong, in the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



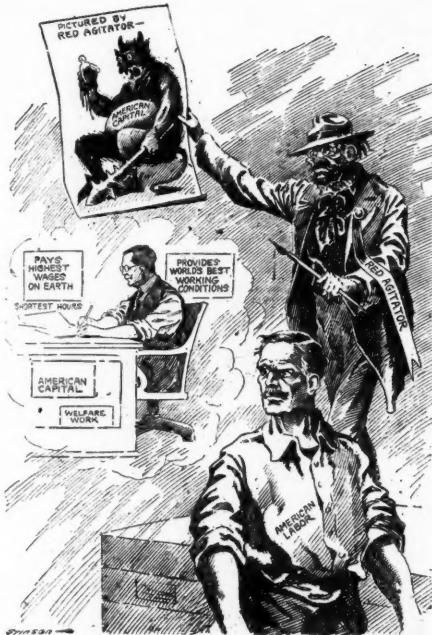
© Press Publishing Company.
JENKINS IS RELEASED!
From the *Evening World* (New York)



THE QUICKER AND HARDER, THE BETTER
By Chapin, in the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



A GOOD BATH WOULDN'T HURT HIM
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



LABOR WILL NOT BE FOOLED

[What chance, in the long run, has the alien agitator against the American laborer's high wages, short hours, and improved working conditions?]

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



"LET HIM UP, HE'S ALL CUT"
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)



MORE WORK WILL CURE THESE INTERNAL PAINS
From the *Daily Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



FOR DEVOTION TO DUTY!

[Why not a Distinguished Service Medal for the man who sticks to his job?]

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



THE HEIGHT OF IRONY—THE ZERO-HOUR DAY
From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)

In the coal-strike situation last month the cartoonists expressed what all saw and felt—the dominance of American industry by a single group of workers in the soft-coal States, the helplessness of the great public and the possibility of government control and operation of the mines. On the next page Mr. Rogers of the New York *Herald* gives a suggestion of the way Kansas took care of her own coal.



THE JUDGE GIVING FUEL-CONSERVATION INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CITIZEN
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE
From the *World* (New York)



CAVE-MAN COURTSHIP
From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



A PICK TO OPEN THE LOCK
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



WONDER WHAT MOTHER NATURE THINKS OF
HER KIDS?

From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



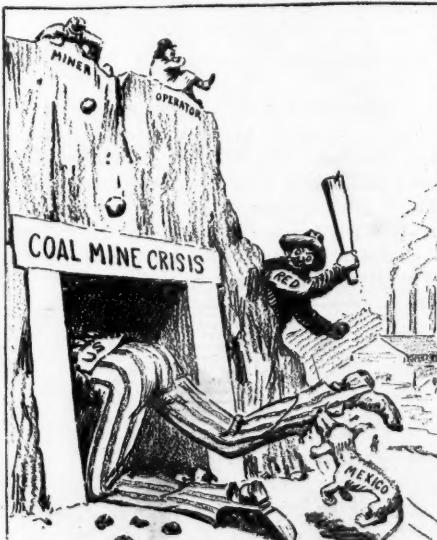
THE WAY THEY DO THINGS IN KANSAS

From the *Herald* (New York)



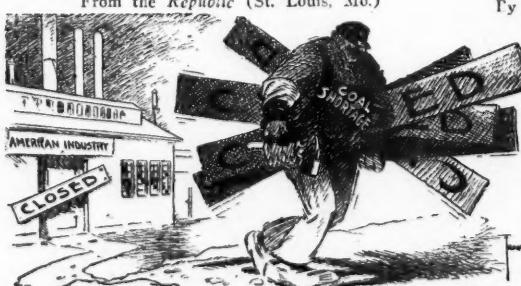
THE MINE MULE

From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)



OPPORTUNITY

By Nelson Harding, in the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



A SUCCESSFUL "CLOSED-SHOP" MOVEMENT

From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



POOR SUBSTITUTES

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)

THE "FIGHTING QUAKER" OF THE CABINET

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, an Idealist Who Does Not Talk Ideals—A Rooter-out of the "Reds," and Uncle Sam's Policeman to Arrest H.C.L.

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

DECLINING to become Secretary of War in time of peace, and yet refusing to keep out of service when America was at war—such is the characteristic record of A. Mitchell Palmer, the "fighting Quaker" who has within six months become the outstanding member of President Wilson's Cabinet.

The two facts named give the key to Palmer's career. His principles are not in the market place; therefore when President Wilson offered him the post of Minister of War in his original cabinet, Palmer declined, since he is a member of the Society of Friends. After America went to war, however, Palmer became doubtless the most militant official of the Government—certainly the Germans and pro-Germans hated him hardest—as Alien Property Custodian. He remarked to a friend, after entering upon that apparently obscure and perfunctory post, "When America went into the war I made up my mind that I just must get into it somehow, even if I had to carry a gun as a private." The "gun" he made and carried, as Alien Property Custodian, proved far more deadly to the enemy than any of the spectacular weapons used on the western front.

Palmer is no poser, else he would have extracted the pictorial values out of his position as the Quaker who has the heavy fighting of the Government to do. What ordinarily would be his best political assets he ignores: for he holds and practices the ideals of good citizenship which have been the staples of progressive political discussion for two decades. Nevertheless, one searches Palmer's speeches in vain for the ostentatious proclamation of his principles: he is an idealist who does not talk about ideals. His public work, however, is itself eloquent upon the subject of the loftiest type of patriotism. Rather than drag into the forum of discussions the convictions which he inherited as



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HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, ATTORNEY
GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

a birthright Friend—he would as soon talk to the reporters about his own idyllic home life—he has let himself be labelled a "practical politician," as if in contradistinction to the "reformer." If, as the apothegm has it, "Some men are discovered, and some are found out," then Palmer is being discovered by the nation as a man of deeds, whose career consistently echoes one lofty message of public service and fidelity to principles.

Two remarkable facts stand out in Palmer's public life: he has not talked or traded on his ideals; and he has never extolled the virtues of the fighting man; but only practiced them. Dramatically, this quality of courage in the Attorney General

was thrust upon public attention last spring when a bomb was exploded on his doorstep; instead of being intimidated, he only redoubled the efforts of the Department of Justice against the "reds," and so effectively that their discovered program of periodic terrorism had to be abandoned.

The placid face of Palmer should not divert the eye from that fighting jaw. He is not bellicose; but he is brave with the courage of a people who for centuries have dared all for conscience's sake. Many a public man has gained a reputation as a fighter for half the reasons possessed by Palmer.

A Fighter Within His Own Party in State Politics

Consider his record. He broke into national prominence by smashing the old Democratic organization in Pennsylvania, which was the appanage of the Republican party. On the simple issue of common honesty, he and Vance McCormick wrested the control of the minority party in their State from the bi-partisan crowd; which act provided them with enough enemies, of both parties, to suffice for a life time. The Wise Man of the Old Testament did not know as much about natural history as is common knowledge to-day; so he understated the case when he wrote, "The righteous are bold as a lion." These two crusading young Pennsylvanians, who had the strength which is "as the strength of ten," further essayed a frontal attack on the triple alliance—big business, booze and bi-partisanship. Imagine the quixotism of making such a fight in the State of Pennsylvania, where all three forces were entrenched by generations of unchallenged dominance! The young militants nevertheless made the Democratic party in the State the "dry" party and the "reform" party; and so won to place and power in the national councils of Democracy.

A Wilson Leader in 1912

Thus it came about that Palmer had to prove his character and his courage on a veritable Mount of Temptation. Since "like attracts like," the reformed Pennsylvania Democracy threw its support to Woodrow Wilson, the idealist and reformer; and at the Baltimore Convention, Palmer was floor leader of the Wilson forces. That was a regular Belleau Wood battle. A presumably impregnable position was held by the Old Guard of Privilege. For days the fighting raged, without a decision. Then there came

a development of which the general public has not even yet learned. The Old Guard found that it could not defeat the attackers; yet it felt sure that the latter could not capture the stronghold. So negotiations were opened. The "leaders" of the party had come to the point where they were willing to agree to anything, so long as their leadership was recognized. They would give the crown to the man who would take it at their hands. Anything to preserve their hold upon the party.

Long after midnight, in a private house in Baltimore, a critical conference was held by the Old Guard. Palmer was invited and unexpectedly confronted with this amazing proposition: "Your man Wilson cannot win: that is clear. Here are the figures to prove it. But you can keep anybody else from winning. Now we propose what is a substantial victory for your crowd. We won't accept Wilson, but we will take another man, who stands for the same things and is part of the same outfit. We have agreed that you, Palmer, are the man who will make the best appeal to the public: you are young, a reformer, and a fighter. Say the word, and the nomination is yours."

Concededly, in 1912, the Democratic nomination was equivalent to election. So it was a dazzling temptation held up before the eyes of the young Quaker—Palmer is now only forty-seven years old—in the small hours of the night, when a man's stamina is at its lowest ebb. The proposition of the leaders was reenforced by personal solicitation and argument from some of the ablest men in the party.

In vain. Palmer and the Pennsylvania delegation had entered the convention pledged to Wilson, and by Wilson they would stand. That morning Palmer made a stirring speech to his followers—for he is a real orator—and they went into the struggle at Convention Hall with new fire—and Wilson was nominated.

His War Upon the "Reds"

I was writing of Palmer's fighting qualities when I turned aside to tell that Baltimore story. At present, he is America's most conspicuous and effective antagonist of the Bolsheviks. He has been responsible for the deportation of hundreds of the alien agitators; and has been relentless upon the trail of others, even when they have been camouflaged as labor leaders.

In this, "we love him for the enemies he

has made;" for the reds have concentrated upon Palmer as the man they are most determined to "get." With good reason. This born idealist, who presumably should be a twiddler of intellectual thumbs, a friend and abetter of all the forces of discontent, is today the most militant man in the government in rooting out the seditious. He has opened the road to Russia for "reds." The Attorney General has organized a "radical division" in his office; and also a bureau for collecting and reading and translating all radical publications, wherever in America they appear. There is enough first-class detective work going on under Palmer's direction at this moment to supply grist to the mills of a score of mystery-fictionists. What the serene Attorney General does these days is based upon toilsomely-gathered knowledge, knowledge which has thwarted the Bolsheviks at every turn. Only a few of the sensationaly foiled plots of the reds have as yet become public. Enough is known to reassure the nation that Uncle Sam will not be caught napping.

Palmer and the Coal Strike

When the coal strike befell, and the orderly processes of national life were threatened, Palmer did not hesitate to use the odious weapon of the injunction to thwart the scheme to paralyze the nation. He who had been a lifelong champion of the workingman and of the oppressed, instantly saw and made clear the distinction between the basic rights of all the people and the rights of special groups or combinations. The day after the injunction, coal operators were ready to forgive him all his past activities against "big business," while the extreme labor press cursed him as a hireling of plutocracy. Within a few weeks, however, the operators were gnashing their teeth at him because "just as we had got the miners where we want them, and thoroughly licked," Palmer "had to butt in" with a government scheme that exposed the operators to investigation and to reduced profits.

After weeks of futile negotiations, and "remedies" for the strike situation which only made matters worse; and after country-wide traffic and lighting restrictions had been put into operation, and many industries had shut down, with the whole nation facing a cold, dark and gloomy Christmas, Palmer quietly led the way out. His solution set the miners immediately to digging coal, granting them the increased wage indicated by Dr. Garfield, without any increase of



MR. PALMER WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

cost to the consumer. The one big outcome desired by the public had been achieved by the Attorney General, who became the central figure in the strike only because he is what the coast of China calls a "can do" man.

On the Trail of the Profiteers

With equal impartiality, Palmer has been after the food profiteers, big and little. Upon his broad shoulders the President has shifted the work of the Food Administration, and, in addition to enforcing legislation against hoarders, and securing new laws with teeth in them, he has made clear for the average person the causes and remedies for the high cost of living. As cheerfully as the old-style office-holder met crises with platitudinous evasion, Palmer has run fairly tilt against the packers and other food profiteers.

Because he is humanly close to "the folks," Palmer has sensed the preeminence of the cost-of-living issue. As attorney general, he has at one and the same time set his most ponderous machinery at work to catch the profiteering packers (with sensational results that may be known before this article appears), and also taken the housewives of the country into cooperation to force down inflated prices by homely, old fashioned economies, cooperation and counsel. In addition to the hundreds of special agents of the Department of Justice who have been set on

the trail of the H. C. L., the United States district attorneys over the land have also been enlisted. Congress has been persuaded to give biting power to the Lever Act; and also asked to extend its provisions for six months after the proclamation of peace. Already numerous flagrant food-hoarders and profiteers have been put behind bars; for the Attorney General has taken the stand that justice will not be done to these offenders until the worst of them have been sent to jail, rather than fined. He has gone after the politically powerful "big fellows," as well as the retailers.

These are not the tactics of a politician. They are rather the characteristics of a statesman, who believes something so intensely that he will sacrifice all his personal interests for it. Simple, old-fashioned patriotism, which is devotion to the welfare of the nation at all costs, is the explanation which the average person will find written upon the surface of Palmer's policies.

These qualities go with Palmer's character. He has carried over from college days the loyalties of young manhood—and, incidentally, he is deeply devoted to Swarthmore College, his alma mater, and to the friends of student days. When it came to naming a postmaster for Swarthmore, Palmer (then a Congressman) said that the Republican incumbent, widow of a college professor, should retain the place as long as she desired; and that, in case of her retirement, the Civil War veteran who had been her assistant, should remain under the new appointee. A trifle? Possibly; but also a symptom. The man under Palmer or over him is sure of loyalty.

An Outspoken Campaigner

When President Wilson and other friends wanted Palmer to run for Senator in Pennsylvania in 1914, in opposition to Penrose, he gave up his seat in Congress, and his dominant position on the Ways and Means Committee, and his prospects in national politics, to make the well-nigh hopeless fight against the senior Senator. Sneered at as a "college man in politics," as a "theorist" and "reformer," he risked his all in an attempt to deliver Pennsylvania from the "Organization" and its three masters, "big business," the liquor traffic and corrupt bi-partisanship.

His campaign was a revelation in outspokenness. Palmer is a hard, straight hitter. There is something almost brutal as well as noble about the "yea is yea" and "nay is nay" of the Quaker's candor. He carried

this direct form of speech into his campaign. Veteran politicians said he was too stern and too belligerent. Having a clean man's freedom from fear of exposure, he also had the audacity of the champion of a good cause. Therefore his swift, uncompromising combative ness. Palmer lost the race for the senatorship, and retired with good grace to resume the practice of law in the quiet town of Stroudsburg. He knew how to

"Meet with Triumph and Disaster,
And treat those two impostors just the same."

Nobody was far-sighted enough to perceive that by being out of office he was eligible to the emergency appointment of Alien Property Custodianship; and thence to the portfolio of Attorney General. Strange are the roads that go up and the roads that go down. Penrose sits in the Senate, but Palmer is the nation's present leader in its most vital efforts.

When within his own party in Pennsylvania men were named for office who stood for the opposite of the principles upon which the State Democracy had been reorganized, Palmer fought them openly. Without any pious remarks about the relative claims of righteousness versus "regularity," he simply and openly took the stand which is usually suicide to a public career. His recipe for avoiding wrinkles, I suppose, if he were even to think of such a triviality, would be, "Keep in the sunlight, and walk straight ahead."

His Present Tasks

Bolshevism, industrial unrest, the high cost of living, and the prosecution of corporation law-breakers, are the extraordinary tasks at present engaging the Attorney General. Upon him, more than upon any other man except the President, depends the security of the nation and the peace and well-being of the people. I have tried to show that A. Mitchell Palmer has the qualities which his task requires—probity, patriotism, courage and efficiency. He will serve the nation to the best of his ability, even though he earns the antagonism of every special class and group of people, including those powerful aggregations of men who are commonly supposed to be able to "make or break" a public man.

Whether Palmer goes higher in official position, or back to Stroudsburg, he will still be the unboasting, unfearing, untiring servant of the United States whom those who know best most delight to honor.

PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE NEW YEAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

EVERYONE is familiar with the fact that during the years of the recent war each midwinter period was a time of great pessimism and disappointment for the Allies, a season of strain for the publics of the nations in arms against the Germans. Whatever were the failures of the Germans in the major field of operations during each successive campaign, they were able by triumphs over the Serbians, the Rumanians and the Russians, to awaken new hopes among their own masses and sow corresponding fears in the midst of Allied nations.

At the outset of another year, this time marking the second anniversary of the restoration of peace, it is clear that something of the same condition of disappointment and disillusionment prevails. Recalling the war parallels we may hope for solutions more favorable than present conditions seem to warrant; yet it is equally necessary to recognize that the unsettled problems of 1919 cast a portentous shadow over the year that is at hand.

Above all we have to recognize that the Paris Conference is dissolving, if not officially adjourning, leaving behind it many documents duly formulated and bearing witness to the diligence of the Conference itself. But so far it has failed to put into actual operation any one of the treaties it has imposed upon the enemy and has now confronting it in its declining days a challenge of authority from beaten Germany and faces an incoherence and chaos in the world, intensified by certain well-nigh critical situations in regions in which the recent world tragedy had its inception.

In the present article I mean to discuss four or five of the chief problems, namely, the European effects of America's course in temporarily refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles; the meaning of the recent German challenge to the Paris Conference, which still stands as I write these lines, at a moment when Allied press and publics are

discussing new military operations against Germany; the Adriatic situation with its Balkan complications; the Russian problem as it has been transformed by the total collapse of Allied hopes placed in Denikine, Kolchak and Yudenvitch, and finally the ever-darkening outlook in Asia Minor.

As to the American political aspects of the dispute over the Treaty in the Senate, I shall not speak. The clash between ideas, personalities and political parties, all discoverable in the progress of recent domestic history, lies outside the field of one who has sought through more than five years to set forth in the pages of this magazine European conditions and forces as they affect American interests and are themselves affected by American action.

The rights and wrongs of American action or failure to act are matters which will be discussed by others far more competent to deal with them. What I shall try to do, as in the past, is to explain, so far as I am able, the European reactions. The failure to ratify the treaty is an American matter, a question of domestic politics and policy, but once the treaty has failed of ratification, a whole long series of European consequences remains to be noted.

The course of the Senate may be sound or unsound, a defense of legitimate American interests, or an excursion into partisan politics at a moment when world peace is in the balance. On this point the American debate is only beginning and the decision seems indefinitely postponed, but in Europe the consequences have been immediate, considerable, in a sense permanent.

II. EUROPE AND AMERICA

In understanding the present reaction in Europe one has inevitably to go back to the opening days of the Paris Conference, a year ago. Then the view of Europe, of that portion of Europe associated with us in the war with Germany, was clear. America had become the dominating factor in the war. Our troops had supplied the reserves neces-

sary to furnish the strategy of Foch with the weight essential to its success. We had prevented a moral collapse in 1917 by entering the conflict. We assured a military triumph in 1918 by supplying that man-power, still but roughly trained, which made German victory impossible and assured the exhaustion of German reserves. On a battlefield long contested, when weariness was present on both sides, we contributed just the force needed to decide the issue. Moreover the numbers which we sent were but an earnest of what we could send and our material reserves were even more considerable than the human.

When President Wilson arrived in Europe a year ago the Continent was unmistakably under the American spell. Still exhausted, suddenly made acutely conscious of the extent of its wounds, by the end of the struggle and the arrival of the first hour available for taking account of stock, France, Britain, Italy, the big states and even more completely the little states newly called into existence, recognized their own appalling weakness and saw in America the sole and sufficient guarantee of their future.

The entrance of America into the war, the coming of the President, the presence of millions of American troops on the Continent—all these things were accepted as ultimate evidence of the change in American policy. Europe believed that the United States had broken for all time with its old policy of isolation. And this impression was powerfully fortified by the first words of the President himself, by all the declarations public and private of the Americans who went to Europe to make peace.

Speaking for America the President said in unequivocal language that the United States sought a new ordering of world relations, a new international organization, that if such an organization in accordance with its conceptions were achieved, then all the mighty power of the United States, military as well as financial, would be placed behind the new arrangement. We, the great American nation, at the moment unmistakably the supreme world power, would guarantee the terms of peace and the conditions of settlement.

I wish I could make it clear to my American readers how explicit this affirmation on behalf of the United States was made and how completely it was accepted by Europe. In the presence of this fact the European nations made a peace which was constructed

around the essential premise that America had come to Europe to stay, that the challenge of the principles or applications of principle established at Paris would be automatically taken up by American armies and naval forces.

Europe did not resign all its aspirations, all its own time-honored or dishonored customs, but again and again at a critical moment the decisive factor was the assertion that America would decline to accept such and such solutions. For example, France agreed to surrender the Rhine barrier solely because she was assured that if she did not the United States would not aid her next time and if she did American millions would as a physical barrier replace the geographic bulwark of the Rhine.

With all its compromises and departures from the Fourteen Points, the Treaty of Versailles was built round the single fact that America had come to Europe to stay. To put the thing negatively, a totally different settlement would have been arrived at had the Europeans conceived that the document which would finally be signed in Paris would not automatically receive American endorsement. The smallest suggestion that there was a question as to the action of the Senate when it should have the treaty in its own hands was repulsed in Paris as a mere evidence of partisan spite on the part of its author.

Europe made peace with the President of the United States in the firm conviction that the President spoke for all of America, for the political opposition as well as for his party associates. America was in Paris the expression of a hundred millions of people, all united in a common demand for a certain kind of settlement and prepared to guarantee such a settlement once it had been accepted in its name by the President.

Exactly this circumstance explains to-day why such dispatches as come to us from Paris and London assert that the United States Senate, by refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, has repudiated its obligations. Europe knows that it made a certain kind of an arrangement solely to insure American support, that it was assured of that support by the President, if it made the arrangement, and it reasons that America has repudiated a pledge, after having led Europe to make certain commitments, sacrifices, surrenders, which never would have been made under any other circumstances.

It will not do to assert, as many Americans

now do, that Europe had no right to draw such conclusions. On the side of fact this stands, but it does not help, rather it prevents understanding the present situation. Granted European diplomacy made a supreme blunder, it still made the blunder and finds itself now in the presence of the consequences. It made peace with the President, expecting that this was the same as making peace with the country, and it sees that peace at least temporarily rejected and, what is even more disastrous, assailed by one of the two great American political parties.

III. THE CONSEQUENCES

Now for the consequences of the recent events in the Senate: We see clearly that Europe made a settlement based upon the participation of the United States in the permanent guarantee of that settlement. If we had not participated in the peace negotiations or if we had not assumed a leading rôle and given unmistakable assurances that if our ideas were embodied in the treaty certain results would follow, Europe would have made peace in its own way. It might have been a worse way, it certainly would have been a different way.

Unquestionably the French would have compelled Germany to recognize permanent French military occupation of the Rhine barrier. Great Britain would have been compelled to agree to this, because it is essential to remember that British policy always envisages defending the Straits of Dover against a continental foe and to defend them she must, as the events of 1914 showed, stand with France. Thus British interest demands that the defense of the Straits of Dover shall begin as far away as possible and, since British troops must share with French the burden of the resistance, the British are as interested as the French in having an advantageous and distant line of resistance.

Both the British and the French could agree that American millions were a better guarantee against Germany than the Rhine barrier, provided there was no doubt of having the millions promptly. But a barrier, either geographical or military, there was needed and, with any doubt cast upon the military barrier, constituted by our millions, the reversion to the geographical substitute becomes inevitable.

Again, as to Italy: France and Great Britain could support Mr. Wilson's Fiume policy, absolutely right, in my judgment, on the moral side, because if the United States were committed to European enterprise, to firm

and enduring participation in world affairs, if American troops were certain to come to the aid of British and French, Italian military force was a well-nigh negligible factor. In a word, our armies were so much more considerable an asset that Britain and France could afford to risk losing Italian friendship by supporting Mr. Wilson's Fiume policy.

But if the United States is out of the calculations, or even becomes a doubtful element, Italy becomes a tremendous factor—in truth, the future balance of power in Europe depends upon the direction of Italian policy. If Italy turns to Germany, France and Great Britain are at once in a fatally defective position. Thus Italy resumes the position she occupied when in 1915 the Allies sought to enlist her in the war against Germany. She can fix her price and Britain and France must pay.

The price is plain. If France will now demand the right to stay at the Rhine, as a concession based upon her new situation created by American action, Italy can with equal determination ask for Allied, British and French recognition of her Adriatic claims, of her Asiatic ambitions as well. To deny them is to immobilize French divisions along the Alps, if there is a new German attack, and it was the release of these divisions, following Italy's promise of neutrality, which saved the Battle of the Marne.

The case of Rumania is not less manifest. Rumania is nothing in the European scale when contrasted with the potential resources of the United States. Wise policy, obvious common sense, demanded support of American wishes as contrasted with Rumanian when the reward was the securing of American assistance and the loss, merely the possible hostility of Rumania. But Rumania, while a pygmy, when compared with the United States, is a very considerable figure in a European situation with the United States left out. She holds the lower Danube, is master of a relatively considerable fraction of Europe's most fertile lands, exceeding Italy in area and with a population of 16,000,000 capable of rapid increase, judging from contemporary statistics. When she was less than half as large she was able to demand her price for entrance into the war. With America out she resumes her old value. Does anyone suppose that France or Britain, faced with the solid facts of the situation, of the new situation, will long oppose Rumanian aspirations on the Dneister or even in the angle between the Theiss and the Danube?

Nor is the case of Poland less patent. Despite the French plea, we have made Poland an impossibility by our compromises and calculations at Paris. We have restricted the corridor to the Baltic, denied possession of Danzig, invented plebiscites to meet German objections. We have done all these things in the name of the Fourteen Points and under the guiding impulse of American ideas. But now the situation changes. For France, for Britain, there is no longer a question of the certainty of American millions along the Rhine, if Germany stirs again. Poland like Rumania assumes a totally different value in a European combination in which the United States does not appear.

To satisfy American scruples Poland was refused much territory vital to her military and economic future. Again it was a small price to pay for American aid, but it is a prohibitive price if America disappears and the old danger of Germany remains, as it does. Then the Pole must take the place of the Russian. Then it must be the mission of Polish armies to attack Germany on the east and thus draw off some of the pressure exerted upon France in the west.

And if Poland is to be able to do all this, she must have the best possible frontiers, the largest area she is capable of occupying effectively. Above all she must be assured of the possession of the lower Vistula. The question of Danzig must be reopened and resettled. The plebiscite in Silesia takes on a new significance, because if these lands fall to Germany they can supply the arms and materials necessary for making a new war.

It is not necessary to multiply the examples of the actual effect of the American incidents. The truth stands unmistakable. Europe could make a moderate peace, a peace in accordance with principles of abstract justice, if America were certain to aid in defending it, but if there were a question as to America, then a peace based upon history and military geography was all that could be made. And the action of the Senate has settled the question of certainty, whatever the ultimate result of the debate. Therefore Europe must, and in my judgment will, promptly make its own amendments to the recent treaties—amendments all designed to regain a security lost by American withdrawal. We shall have a new alliance, a new association of nations large and small to guarantee mutual security, and to establish this alliance many problems like those of Fiume, the Banat, Danzig will be reopened.

IV. THE GERMAN REACTION

At the moment when this article is written the Germans have openly refused to sign a protocol putting the Treaty of Versailles into operation because it includes a promise to pay indemnity for the sabotage of the German war fleet in British waters.

This act of defiance has two explanations. It is alleged on one side that it is a direct consequence of the course of the United States Senate. Germany feels herself relieved of the menace of American participation in the enforcement of the terms of the peace. She is regaining something of her old feeling of strength.

A second explanation is found in the reaction within Germany, the ever-growing weakness of the present republican régime, the steady increase in enthusiasm manifested for Hindenburg, Mackensen, even for Ludendorff. The old elements of Germany, the Junkers and the military, the Potsdam gang, are manifestly looking up and stretching forth hands to seize power.

Probably each of the explanations contains a measure of justice. At bottom lies the terrible failure of the victors to put the treaty into actual existence months and months ago. The German is getting out of the mood of despair and hopelessness of last winter. He sees his enemies slowly but surely becoming estranged. American events give him cause for satisfaction, but even more does the break between Italy on the one hand and Britain and France on the other.

Despite all the reports of alarmists I do not believe there is any warrant for believing that Germany is capable of fighting another war in contemporary months. Resistance there might be, a sort of pale repetition of the events of the Napoleonic Hundred Days, but not with the Kaiser in the leading rôle. This is possible, but under the conditions of modern war Germany can raise armies but not equipment. She lacks all the things that make even a brief defense possible—heavy artillery, arsenals, airplanes. Her ports are open, her submarines gone, while her French foes have at least in equipment an advantage beyond compare.

Yet it is not impossible that a Junker cabal, coming to power by overthrowing the present republic, may be forced to seek to repeat the great events of 1813, which ended in the deliverance of Germany and the downfall of France. Such an attempt means swift ruin, unless the French troops refuse to fight and

the British abandon their allies—things totally beyond any reasonable expectation. Foch will moreover begin his action on the east bank of the Rhine and Frankfurt will be his first hostage and Southern Germany an immediate victim.

Probably before this article is in the readers' hands Germany will have bowed again, but this very capitulation may seal the doom of the republican régime. Its single chance lies in getting the war settled and peace restored in the briefest possible time and events have delayed this solution for a year. Meantime the Germans have passed from one humiliation to another and the contrast between the achievement of the old régime before the war and of the new since the defeat stands forth in all German eyes.

Therefore it seems to me entirely likely that we shall see in the next few months a real German reaction, the return of the old gang to control, not impossibly followed by a desperate gamble recalling the Napoleonic epilogue. This is the more likely because the policy of the nations who have fought Germany, a policy imposed by American events, more and more tends to take measures to achieve material and physical guarantees against fresh German attack.

Lacking effective leadership, Germany is drifting back into the hands of her old masters. Such leadership as she has is daily growing more completely discredited by the postponement of peace and the multiplication of humiliations. A *coup d'état* becomes daily more possible and out of a *coup d'état* there would emerge new defiance to the Allies, inevitable military operations, and a total re-making of the terms of peace with Germany.

On the Allied side this would not be an unmixed evil. It would supply the warrant for establishing French garrisons permanently upon the Rhine and remaking the Polish frontier. It would give justification for abolishing League of Nations restrictions and applying purely European principles. In the end, I believe the Germans would play into the hands of their enemies, but in the meantime, the prospect of real peace and orderly adjustment would be mightily hindered. Germany has no Napoleon to come back from Elba. Even recent events have not clothed the Kaiser with dignity nor restored his lost popularity. She lacks the resources to turn out such an army, as Napoleon took to Waterloo, to defeat, as it turned out. But there are many circumstances in 1919 which recall 1815.

Above all else there is in Germany much the same mood as existed in 1815 in France. An army used to victory which does not feel itself defeated, and by army I mean officers and non-commissioned officers, has been thrown out of work, evicted forever, if the treaty of peace prevails. A vast horde of functionaries has similarly been deprived of livelihood and dignities, while the public which welcomed peace a year ago as a relief, after thirteen months finds its condition still difficult. Set over against this is an unmistakable breaking up of the victorious enemy alliance, recalling the situation at Vienna after the defeat and first abdication of Napoleon.

A prompt restoration of actual peace conditions, the ending of all delays, the beginning of commercial exchange, the extension of Allied credits to the Germans, the opening of a prospect of some degree of prosperity attained through industry, may still avail to save Germany from reaction and even revolution, followed by a further Allied occupation and a new set of peace terms, such as were served upon France after Waterloo.

But it seems to me the element of time is running heavily against such a desirable solution.

I do not believe in a restored Germany suddenly leaping to arms and repeating the achievements of Prussia in 1813. To me the military aspects of the German problem are fairly plain, but the chances of success or failure will not necessarily restrain the old gang if it regains control. Just as the same men deliberately ignored certain very obvious and fundamental considerations when they were in supreme control and thus precipitated defeat, they are likely to take equal and greater risks, if they regain control, because no one can read their present utterances without feeling that, like the Bourbons, "they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Moreover, for all of them it is a question of life or death and perhaps of now or never, for if Germany ever gets started on a new basis their day is over.

Thus at the turn of the year the situation in Germany seems to me more critical than at any time since the Armistice. One may exaggerate the peril, but one cannot mistake the fact that the country is in full reaction and the success of the reactionaries carries with it almost inevitably the certainty of some military operations and of the upsetting of the Treaty of Versailles, as the Napoleonic return upset the terms of the First Treaty of Paris, a little more than a century ago.

V. RUSSIAN EVENTS

If we have seen our enemies regaining mastery of affairs in Germany, the Russian phenomenon has been practically identical. In a few weeks' time Kolchak's, Denikine's and Yudenivitch's armies have been soundly beaten and the fall of Petrograd and Warsaw, confidently expected comparatively recently, disappears into the background, becomes one of the impossibilities of the contemporary hour.

It is time to recognize clearly that Allied policy with respect of the Bolsheviks has failed. The proof lies in the fact that the border tribes, who have borne the burden of our struggle against the Russian Reds, are to-day talking of truce and peace with the Lenine government. They can do nothing else. Separated themselves by mutual rivalries and jealousies, they could not, even if combined, hope to offer a successful resistance to Russia, if the Bolsheviks were ever able to turn against them the armies which have been occupied against Kolchak and Denikine. And the hour is approaching when such a concentration is no longer unlikely.

If the Allies could send men—money and munitions will no longer suffice—armies numbered by the hundred thousand, the Letts, the Finns, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Rumanians might consent to fight. But they would only do this if the Allies guaranteed them the frontiers they claim. Such an Allied guarantee would result in the immediate rejection of the contract by Kolchak and Denikine, who are by no means ready to see Russia mutilated, it might mean the end of the domestic revolt by Russian patriotic or nationalistic elements, since otherwise they would become the partners in the dismemberment of their country.

Moreover, the Allies would have to undertake an adjustment of the disputes between the Lithuanians and the Poles, the Poles and the Ukrainians, quarrels which admit of no obvious solution and risk losing one race, whenever its rival's most modest claims are recognized. Finally, the Allies would have to abandon their policy of opposition to Rumania, and modify their attitude toward Polish aspirations. Above all they would have to send armies and, since Allied peoples will not consent to this, all other conditions become relatively unimportant.

Thus we are rapidly approaching a moment when it will become necessary to make a truce with Bolsheviks. We may even have

to recognize the Lenine and Trotzky régime, because not to recognize it would mean to sacrifice the border tribes to the Russian armies, since we will not send armies to defend them. The Bolsheviks are ready, have been ready for months, to make peace. They will consent to terms which will leave the border tribes temporarily free. They will agree to pay the old Russian debt—a condition essential to French financial stability. They will make almost any concession to get what they desire, that is, a period of rest in which to organize their control of Russia.

No one should mistake the danger that this truce carries. Buying off an enemy, who will always remain an enemy, proved of little avail as far back as the Roman era, when the Barbarians took their ransom and departed, only to return. But if one cannot fight there is little real choice and the peoples of the old Alliance are in no mood to embark upon further colossal campaigns.

Conceivably with the menace of foreign war removed Russia will presently fall into more moderate hands and what could not be accomplished by outside force will be achieved by domestic evolution. Yet this seems hardly likely; rather there is reason to dread a renewal by the present Russian régime of the old struggle, once they have consolidated their hold upon the mighty potential resources of the Russian Empire.

But whatever its consequences, the victory of Lenine seems assured. The first and soundest Allied policy, one of immediate and powerful military intervention, broke down when the peoples of the Allied countries declared against a new war and the soldiers of these nations actually mutinied. The second and weaker policy of a *cordone sanitaire*, of a barrier maintained against Russian revolution, until Russians, in revolt against Lenine and supported by allied military resources and small allied contingents, above all fortified by the blockade and the aid of the border races, should gain control of the nation, has failed because these Russian insurgents, reactionaries—the name does not signify—the Kolchaks and the Denikines have been beaten and the small states are in danger and ready to abandon the struggle.

The whole western world stands aghast at the methods and principles of Lenine and Trotzky. It instinctively repulses any idea of making peace and thus recognizing the Bolsheviks. The press continues to decry any suggestion of an arrangement recognizing the men who have undertaken to overturn all the foundations of our civilization.

But the truth cannot be obscured by this sort of denunciation, founded upon sound reasons but turning a blind eye to material considerations.

If we continue the blockade and the state of war with Russia, we shall presently risk the independence of the Poles and the Baltic states. They cannot stand against Russia, once Kolchak and Denikine are completely defeated, unless we send vast armies. If the Reds break through this feeble barrier they will come into contact with the Germans and the consequences may be disastrous in the extreme. At the least all of our liberation of smaller peoples in the Middle of Europe may go for nothing.

In any event the unsolved Russian problem remains one of the most evil of our inheritances in the new year. Recent events all point to the arrival of a situation in which it will no longer be possible to conceal the failure of all our earlier policies and the necessity of taking a final decision for peace or for war. Not to make peace will invite the Russians to invade the Middle of Europe, as the French Revolution was similarly invited into Germany, by opponents who could not fight and would not recognize the French insurgents. We shall, then, have to formulate a policy in the matter of Russia within a brief time, or failing that face new dangers hardly less considerable, in fact much more serious, than those which grow out of recent German developments.

VI. ITALY AND THE ADRIATIC

Turning to the Adriatic crisis, it becomes plain that in this quarter, too, the situation has visibly worsened. The venture of D'Annunzio has brought Italy to the edge of war with the Jugo-Slavs. Only the ever-declining hope of ultimate intervention by the Paris Conference, by Britain and France, by the United States, first of all, has so far kept the Jugo-Slavs from meeting violence with violence. And the next move of D'Annunzio may prove the signal for the explosion.

Meantime behind the new front Italy is seething with unrest and the recent election has enormously increased the strength of the Socialists. The outbreak of hostilities with the Jugo-Slavs, any protracted campaign, any incidental defeat, might prove the signal for revolt at home, for revolution. And despite this unmistakable fact we see the factions which D'Annunzio represents pressing forward to an inevitable conflict.

Nor would the outbreak of hostilities between Slav and Italian be "localized," to use a word of unhappy memories. Balkan disturbances are rarely localized. Thus the Rumanians would seize upon the outbreak of war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia to flood the Banat, that is the Serbian fraction of the Banat, with troops. Rumania has never accepted the division of this province made by the Paris Conference and the Paris Conference in giving Serbia these lands has exposed her to deadly peril. If the claim of the Slavs is sound, viewed from the angle of self-determination, it is no less a claim which wise statesmanship would resign, as Cavour resigned Nice and Savoy to France and made an invaluable ally.

The attack of Rumania would unquestionably release the Bulgars, who similarly rejects the Paris settlement, which, so far from giving him Monastir, deprives him of Strumnitza. As for Greece, the sight of Bulgarian armies in Macedonia again would have for her a deadly significance. She might hesitate to join in the mêlée, but her hesitation would be almost as dangerous as actual participation. Nor is it less plain that Albanians would seize upon the difficulties of Italy to rise against an Italian occupation which has become unpopular in the extreme.

Fiume, then, promises, threatens a new Balkan conflagration. It carries with it the possibility of revolution in Italy, the certainty of risings in many lands occupied by Italians, in Asia Minor as well as Europe. Given the Italian domestic situation, as it exists, what will be the effect of the arrival of a new war, accompanied by troubles in Albania, in Asia Minor, and in Tripoli? What, too, will be the effect upon Italian finance and industry if the prolongation of the Fiume crisis continues to prevent demobilization and augment military expenditure?

The worst phase of the Fiume episode is that, while it is still conceivable that an accommodation can be found for the present dispute, an arrangement which will prevent immediate hostilities, the hatreds engendered between the Southern Slavs and the Italians will hardly disappear in the present generation. The dispute has gone too far, the bitterness aroused has been too acute.

To-day the stature of the Southern Slavs seems too inconsiderable to carry any threat to Italy, but the new Jugo-Slavia is already a country as large as Italy, with a prolific population and a vast extent of fertile territory. Its inhabitants are fighting men from long tradition and they will hardly resign

their claims, not to Fiume and Dalmatia, merely, but to Trieste and to Istria, now that the hour of friendly adjustment is over. What we have seen breaking out is one more of the racial hatreds which have contributed so much to making European conflicts.

The refusal of the United States Government to accept any one of the compromises offered by the Italians is justified in principle, but it is a little less comprehensible in fact. We cannot get Fiume for the Slavs. We could not send a division to aid them if war broke out. We could not protect them from Rumanian or Bulgar attack in the rear. Such attacks would be inevitable.

I know it was the view of certain well-informed Americans in Paris last winter that Italy would have to choose between domestic revolution and compliance with the Paris terms. Events have seemed to point to a possible confirmation of the opinion of those who affirmed that the refusal of the Italian Government to accept President Wilson's policy insured an Italian domestic explosion. But will such a terrible catastrophe be worth while, if the result is the ruin of Modern Italy and the incidental vindication of Slav claims on the Adriatic?

There is only one possible compromise, possible in the sense of offering any promise of permanency. Fiume is lost to the Slavs, for the present, unless they take it by the sword. But to exchange their claims to Fiume for Italian claims to Dalmatia, might prove a reasonable solution. If the Italian Government lacks the authority to enforce such a compromise upon D'Annunzio, then there is no other possible outcome save war. Nor is the immediate crushing of the Slavs over-certain.

But failing a composition of the dispute, a prompt ending of the crisis, war seems to me well-nigh inevitable. And war will involve Rumania and Bulgaria, it may rouse Hungary. Even the German Austrians, a quarter of a million of whom have been forcibly included in the new Italian frontiers against every principle of justice, may at least revive hope of ultimate liberation for their enslaved brethren.

Above all else Americans must understand that the question of Fiume is something more than a dispute over a small town. It has the widest possible influence, it carries with it the immediate possibility of a new Balkan conflagration, it may produce revolution in Italy, it will excite rebellion in Albania, in Tripoli, in Asia Minor, wherever Italian

garrisons hold alien territory against the will of the populations.

VII. SUMMING IT UP

Of the situation in Asia Minor I shall say no more in this article than to point out that there also the conditions are rapidly marching toward anarchy. The Turk, like the German, is getting back a measure of assurance. He sees the enemies of his race revealing the same old rivalries and incohérences of policy which have saved him again and again. The defeat of the Peace Treaty in Washington carries an almost certain death warrant for the American mandates for Armenia and Constantinople, but if not the United States what nation is to have Constantinople?

To sum up briefly: The action of the American Senate seems to have knocked the foundation out from under the settlement made at Paris. That document becomes "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Later ratification will not restore the old character. As a consequence Europe is marching toward a new settlement, made on European lines and on the assumption that America cannot be relied upon to participate in European conflicts.

In the same way the German situation is unmistakably pointing toward domestic upheaval, a reaction to the control which existed before the war and it is at the same time tending toward a new defiance of the orders of the Paris Conference and of the nations allied against Germany which will lead to new military operations, the occupation of more German territory and the transformation of the conditions of peace.

As for the Russian problem, it seems approaching a solution which may well involve a permanent unselement of very grave character. We are nearing a moment when we may have to make peace with the Bolsheviks on their terms, because we shall have no weapon available to oppose them with. Such peace, too, means only giving a permanent enemy a respite to organize a fresh attack.

As to the question of the Adriatic, more patently than all other difficulties it is moving toward armed conflict, a conflict which will involve all of the Balkans and may spread to Middle Europe. Grim as the present outlook may seem, it is just to say that only wild optimism could have expected a prompt restoration of health after that long disease which was the World War.



OPENING DAY AT THE FAMOUS LEIPZIG FAIR IN SEPTEMBER LAST

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN GERMANY

BY C. W. A. VEDITZ, Ph. D.

(Former Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy in Paris)

THREE seems to be, in the United States, a widespread belief that Germany is rapidly "getting on her feet again"; that "the chimneys of her industrial plants are again smoking"; and that the German laborer, in order to help meet the economic burdens of the new order of things, works not only the traditional eight hours a day, but ten and twelve hours. There is, indeed, in the parts of Germany held by the Allies—where the presence of foreign troops and officials, and foreign economic influences form a distinct and different régime from that which prevails elsewhere—a semblance of prosperity that is misleading to the observer who is unfamiliar with the remainder of the country.

My own conclusions, based upon six weeks' stay in various parts of Germany during the months of August and September, 1919, by no means bear out this optimistic view. As it is obviously impossible, in so short a time, for a visitor to make anything like a thorough personal investigation, it must be confessed that my testimony represents not so much what I saw myself, as the information that was furnished me by the men with whom it was my privilege to con-

sult—political leaders, government officials, business men and bankers, and trade-union leaders.

My sojourn as a student in Germany from 1891 to 1895, and repeated visits to Germany between 1895 and 1914 as an economic investigator for various branches of the United States Government, made it possible before the war to establish relations of sufficient intimacy with prominent men so that I could solicit their views—now that the war is over—with a reasonable hope of obtaining from them the actual facts of the situation as they see them.

The significant facts which I noted myself during this last trip to Germany, are of little importance except as symptomatic of conditions which appear to be general. Entirely apart, however, from the results of a personal investigation, it is difficult to conceive how any one who is at all familiar with the conditions underlying German prosperity before the war can accept without detailed proof the optimistic views to which reference has been made. The fundamental factor in the economic situation of Germany was her dependence upon foreign trade, both imports and exports. Her principal indus-



FOODSTUFF ISSUED TO LEIPZIG FAIR VISITORS

tries depended upon imported raw material and partly manufactured goods. Her population depended for essential foodstuffs partly upon imports from abroad. Her most profitable and most highly developed industries—such as the chemical industries—depended upon the export market for their continued development.

The Food Shortage—Starvation

Among the essential materials lacking from the start were cereals for bread, and feed for cattle. In normal times Germany consumes about seven million tons of wheat, of which two million are imported from Russia and America. These were cut off by the war.

The shortage of wheat up to the present time is still manifested in the requirement of bread cards, and in the almost complete absence of white bread, which is supposed to be reserved for invalids, although one can usually obtain little white-bread rolls (*Brödchen*) in the more expensive restaurants at a price varying from fifty pfennings to one mark each.¹ At Berlin, the visitor living in a hotel is furnished with daily bread cards, potato cards, and meat cards. He cannot have any butter. The meat cards are not issued on two days in the week.

At the Leipzig Fair (the famous *Leipziger-Messe*) last September, the visitors, who are said to have numbered 130,000, had to report to the *Messamt*, where they received a meat card and a foodstuff card, valid for the duration of their stay. The

foodstuff card was subdivided into a cheese card, a butter card, and a bread-spreading-material card (*Brotaufstrichmittelkarte*) which presumably relates to goose grease and other substitutes for butter. The visitor was also provided with a list of the shops where these cards may be presented.

The evolution of the food situation from the beginning of the war to the present time, shows repeated miscalculations on the part of the German Government, and an almost uninterrupted decline in the daily ration of essential foods. At the outset, cereals for making bread—wheat and rye—were available in quantities, respectively, of 8,760,000 tons, and 3,150,000 tons. But at the present time the Government ration is 119 kilograms per annum, whereas in the judgment of food experts the minimum requirement per capita is 180 kilograms.

An article of food on which Germany counted, and was entitled to count, was her potato crop. On the average, Germany raises three times as many potatoes as France and four times as many as Austria-Hungary. In 1913 the German potato crop furnished 800 grammes per day per capita of the population, but at the present time the ration is 215 grammes.

The German was also a large consumer of meats. He ate more meat than even the Englishman, twice as much as the Russian, and six times as much as the Italian. But although the number of cattle for a time sufficed for Germany's meat requirements, the lack of available cattle food became a serious problem. The national supply of meats (beef, veal, pork, mutton, and goat's meat) in 1913 represented 88.7 kilograms per capita per year, or 250 grammes per day, whereas the present ration is only 36.

In the season of 1917-'18 the Government found it necessary to increase the price, per *Doppelzentner* (200 pounds) of rye, from 220 marks to 270 marks, of wheat from 260 marks to 290 marks, of potatoes from 90 marks to 100 marks, and of sugar beets from 30 marks to 50 marks.

From the summer of 1916 to June, 1917, the rationing of bread, potatoes, butter, milk, meat, eggs and sugar was lowered from a nutritive value of 1983 calories, and an albuminous content of 53.8 grammes, to 1100 calories and 30.1 grammes of albuminous content. The system of June, 1917, moreover, with but slight changes from time to time, continued to prevail through the war and after the war. The occasional modifications involved a total of between 1000 and



Wide World Photos.

GERMAN SOLDIER, HOME FROM A PRISON CAMP, STARTING TO WORK HIS FARM
(Note the home-made form of the plow)

1300 calories. In the opinion of food experts, however, a ration of 1344 calories is insufficient to maintain life.

The consequence was a notable increase in the death rate among the civil population. According to the national Health Office the increased mortality of the years 1915 to 1918, over that of 1913, was as follows:

1915.....	88,235, or 9.54 per cent above 1913
1916.....	121,174, or 14.3 per cent above 1913
1917.....	259,627, or 32.2 per cent above 1913
1918.....	293,760, or 37. per cent above 1913

A prominent official of the organization at Berlin that corresponds to an American Chamber of Commerce, after consulting with social workers and physicians in the poorer quarters of Berlin, expressed the conviction that there were in Berlin alone last August no less than 200,000 persons in the process of starvation—not actually falling over in the streets and dying from hunger, but physically so weak from malnutrition that they easily became the quick prey of a variety of diseases.

Raw Materials for Industries

Quite as dependent as she was upon the imports of foodstuffs, Germany needed to obtain from foreign countries some of the essential raw materials of her important industries. The textile industries, upon which Saxony depends to so large a degree, employed at the outbreak of the war approximately 1,300,000 workers, male and female—that is to say, one-fifteenth of the population engaged in gainful occupations. But these industries were almost entirely dependent for their raw materials upon imports.

For cotton, she depended mainly upon the United States; and it is difficult to conceive of a method whereby Germany can afford to buy an adequate supply of cotton at the present rate of exchange, with the mark worth a little over two cents instead of twenty-four cents. Of wool alone, Germany furnished scarcely one-tenth of the amount she required. Flax and hemp came from Russia. Practically all of the jute needed in German mills had also to be imported. Silk was obtained from Italy and France, and in part from Japan and China.

The shortage of wool reveals itself in the unusually small stocks of cloth exhibited by the custom tailors, and in the unusually small supply of ready-made suits in the shops that deal in such goods. An American business man visiting Germany in August told me that, having taken into his service a Danish officer who had no civilian clothes, he visited the leading men's furnishing shops in Berlin to purchase a ready-made business suit. In three large establishments, less than a dozen suits were offered.

The leather industry, which gave employment to at least half a million laborers before the war, had to import between five hundred million and six hundred million marks' worth of raw hides and skins. At the present time the cheapest shoes of leather retail at 75 marks per pair, and those made of good leather, and made to order, cost from 400 to 500 marks. In the fashionable shoe shops of the Friedrichstrasse and the Leipzigerstrasse are displayed, in the show-windows, sandals with wooden soles and straps of canvas, together with footgear made of various substitutes for leather.

Another of the great German industries which depended upon foreign trade, is the working up of metals and the manufacture of machinery and implements of all sorts. In these operations the total number of laborers exceeded two and a half million when the war began. Whereas Germany possessed a sufficient supply of coal, upon which, together with iron, the metallurgical industries most largely depend, it was necessary for her to import a large part of her requirements in iron ore. Her claim to the ore of Luxemburg has been taken away by the treaty of peace. Her supplies of iron ore from Lorraine have gone over to France. Of the 28,607,000 tons of iron ore used in 1913 in Germany, 21,135,000 tons came from this annexed territory of Lorraine.

As for the other metals, Germany has to import eight-ninths of her copper requirements, seven-eighths of the lead and nickel required by her industrial plants, and almost all of her needs in manganese ore. On the first of August, the bureau in charge of controlling the insufficient supply of metals fixed the price for 100 kilograms of electrolytic copper at 600 marks; bronze, 600 marks; cast brass, 300 marks; lead, 140 marks; and aluminum, 1200 marks.

In the chemical industries, in which Germany occupied a position of leadership, she depended largely upon exports, for in 1913 the export trade of Germany in chemical materials amounted to 956,000,000 marks, or nearly a quarter of a billion of dollars. Moreover, these industries had to import such accessory materials as turpentine oil, raw benzine, iodine, saltpeter, camphor, and sulphur.

The shortage of rubber, so serious during the war, seems to continue, for rubber auto tires sell for as much as 2000 marks. Hence a large proportion of both automobiles and bicycles are provided, instead of pneumatic rubber tires, with double solid tires of metal, one within the other, and connected by a series of wire springs between the two tires.

The absence of linen, and the high cost of laundering on account of the shortage of coal, still manifest themselves by the entire absence of table cloths, except those made of crimped paper, resembling the tissue of which a well-known American paper towel is made. Paper is also used for making cord in the absence of hemp and similar fibres.

It could be said in 1914 with a considerable degree of truth that there were no beggars in Berlin. Now, however, in the

frequented parts of the town, no city block is without its beggars. Not all of them are injured soldiers. Bordering closely upon the avowed beggars are scores of men, women, and children selling cigarettes, cigars, and chocolate. Quite frequently these vendors sold English and American cigarettes, and American chocolate. Between the Friedrich Street railway station, in the heart of Berlin, and four city blocks in the direction of Unter den Linden, I counted at one time twenty-three of these vendors, standing on the sidewalks and accosting the passersby. The chocolate sold generally for ten marks a tablet. The minimum rate for a so-called cigar, the composition of which was highly problematical, was usually one mark or one mark fifty pfennings; and smokers familiar with real tobacco could find nothing fit to smoke under three or four marks.

The Currency and Prices

The most important factor underlying the continued decline in the value of the mark is to be found in the increased issue of German paper money, unaccompanied by corresponding increases in the production of goods. If the quantity of purchasable goods in a country remains stationary, or decreases, while the paper money in circulation increases, there must be a general rise in the level of prices. Paper money, if it is made legal tender, must be accepted within the country; but there is of course no way of forcing its acceptance abroad.

The rise of prices in Germany is of course not uniformly the same for all classes of commodities. At the Leipzig Fair, for example, many exhibitors made use of their pre-war price lists, and simply added 300 per cent. or 400 per cent. to the pre-war price. Others added only 100 per cent. In the case of books the addition to pre-war prices was in some instances only 10 or 20 per cent.

Obviously, American purchasers find advantage in buying German goods whose price had not been increased in inverse proportion to the decline in the exchange value of the mark. Roughly speaking, the dollar, which used to equal four marks, now equals forty marks. For the American purchaser therefore, all German articles which have not been increased ten times in price (in marks) are cheaper than they were before the war. This situation should furnish powerful stimulus to the development of export trade from Germany, if the difficulties of trans-

portation could be overcome and if Germany could acquire the necessary raw materials upon which her surplus production depends. For it is obvious that she will not permit the exportation of goods which she requires for her own essential needs.

At the Leipzig Fair, several exhibitors sought to handicap the advantage which the international rate of exchange gives to most foreign buyers, by openly fixing an export price in excess of the price for domestic buyers. A well-known book-dealer in Leipzig, with whom I tried to make arrangements for the purchase of German books, and with whom I had dealings before the war, frankly wrote me that several publishers had agreed to increase the prices of their publications for export trade by a higher percentage than that made for domestic sales.

The National Debt

No appraisal of the real economic situation of Germany after the war is complete without considering the national debt, and the new and colossal expenditures which Germany will be obliged to make for a very long period to come.

In the middle of July, 1919, the German national debt was 165 billion marks, of which 140 billions were added during the fifty-one months of the war, and about 25

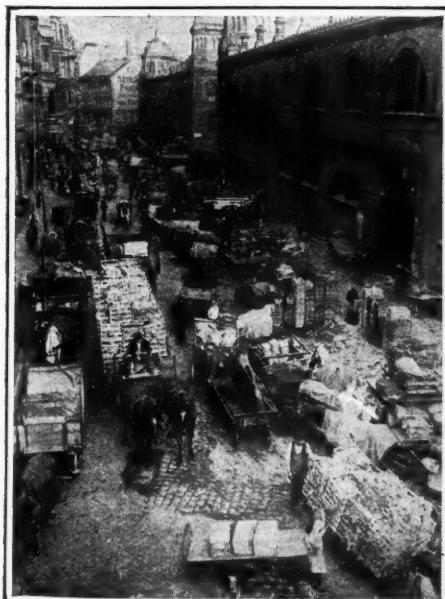


Wide World Photos.
PEDDLING WOODEN SHOES IN BERLIN BECAUSE OF THE LEATHER SHORTAGE

billions were added by the revolutionary governments. As the total national wealth of Germany at the outbreak of the war was estimated at 315 billion marks (Helfferich's estimate, generally considered too high), the debt already amounted in July to more than half of the national wealth. The annual interest alone on the war debt and the revolutionary government's additions, means about $8\frac{1}{4}$ billion marks. There must be added the gratuities and pensions paid to the disabled and dependents of the war, which the Minister of Finance has estimated at $4\frac{1}{4}$ billion marks. These new charges together involve an annual burden of $12\frac{1}{2}$ million marks—as compared with the current charges of the Empire before the war (1913), of 2,400,000,000 marks.

In spite of the great reduction of the army and navy imposed by the peace treaty, there will undoubtedly be a considerable increase in the current expenses of the nation as a consequence of increased salaries and wages, and the upward trend of prices.

Inasmuch as the revolutionary government continued for a time after the above totals were reached, and increased the debt by billions of marks each month, Dr. Helfferich, former Minister of Finance, estimates that the annual current charges, apart from any notable amortization of the debt, will amount to 17 or $17\frac{1}{2}$ billion marks. If to these figures we add the current expenditures of the several German states and municipalities, which before the war amounted to more than three billion marks a year, and which will certainly continue to increase in consequence of rising wages and prices



Wide World Photos.
ACTIVITY IN A LARGE GERMAN MARKET

(amounting to at least twice the pre-war level), it follows that the annual expenditures in Germany for public purposes will reach a grand total of 24 to 25 billion marks. Before the war, the total expenditure for public purposes was six billion marks.

"We shall," says Helfferich, "exclusively for our own interior needs in the future have to make greatly increased provision out of the total national income, which before the war amounted to forty-two billion marks. . . . That is to say, solely for our own internal requirements, we shall have to devise methods for obtaining about four times as much revenue by means of taxation and other charges. Whereas before the war about one-seventh of the national income public purposes, we shall hereafter have to had to be turned over to the Government for give up an amount equal to more than half the pre-war national income. What fraction this may be of our future national income, under the effects of war and revolution, the Gods only know."

All of the above computations, however, have left out of account the payments of billions of marks to the Allied governments throughout a long series of years. "These contributions," says Helfferich, "must be made, not in our depreciated money, but at the gold value of our mark, which to-day, worth in foreign countries about three times as much as our paper mark, and which . . . if the increase of our paper money circulation continues, may ultimately amount to ten times as much. At the end of June, 1919, the annual issue of Reichs bank-notes was 30 billion marks a year, compared with 12½ of just the year before. This amounts to a new issue of about 1½ billion marks per month or 50 million marks per day."

The enormous economic burden falls upon a greatly weakened and mutilated Germany. The precipitate demobilization after the armistice led to serious disturbances in industry, trade, and transportation. More than eight million men were demobilized, and in May, 1919, more than one million persons incapable of work became a burden upon the public treasury.

The armistice, while it caused the arrest of many branches of economic activity, caused no cessation of expenditures. With the disbanding of the army, the immediate costs of demobilization were at the outset as high as those of active warfare. They declined only after some time. More than five billion marks' worth of army stores disappeared in the chaos of retreat and revolu-

tion. Illegal withdrawals from the store-houses reduced the supplies that would otherwise have been available.

Germany's Economic Sickness

The war mortality of 1,600,000 men meant the loss of 8 per cent. of the working population and 16 per cent. of the male workers, in the most productive years of life. There were also, at the close of the war, more than 800,000 war and civilian prisoners. Millions of crippled and diseased men returned unable to give the full quota of work performed before the war. Nor should it be overlooked in connection with an estimation of the productive capacities of present Germany, that the more than four years of war, with an almost corresponding period of under-nutrition for the bulk of the civil population, inevitably curtailed the productive powers of the people as a whole.

The territorial losses of Germany involve Alsace Lorraine, the control of the Sarre region, parts of East and West Prussia, Posen and Upper Silesia. The Allies have also preempted the raw material supply from Luxemburg, upon which German industry so largely depended.

The revenue from the "occupied" regions along the Rhine has undergone grave reductions, and it may be said that the German customs frontier has in some respects been shifted to the Rhine. The out-reaching "*têtes de pont*" of the Allies have drawn still further sections out of economic harmony with the rest of Germany, depriving many Western towns of their normal hinterland.

"Germany," said Dernberg in his speech before the Berlin Chamber "lacks not only the iron from Luxemburg, the coal of the Sarre basin, and the potash from Alsace-Lorraine; but the means of transportation also, the very arteries of the economic body, have been greatly impaired. . . . By the cession of 5,000 locomotives, and the delivery of the German commercial marine to an international pool, Germany has been deprived of most important means of trade in her possession. . . . Our recent industrial catastrophes are not so much the direct consequences of the war, as of the conditions imposed by the armistice."

The German railway system, which in peace times was noted for its efficiency, and whose importance for the economic development of the nation could hardly be overestimated, is in a deplorable condition. The *Vossische Zeitung* of September 9, 1919, points out that the railroads, in spite of in-

creased rates, are confronted by a steady growth of the accumulated deficit piled up during the war and after the war. There was a surplus of nearly 700,000,000 marks in peace times, whereas now the total deficit amounts to *thirteen and one half billion marks*. The terms of the armistice involved not only the cession of 5000 of the best locomotives, but also 150,000 cars.

The Allied occupation of the Rhine region interfered in these regions with the most efficient of the railway systems. In addition, came the labor unrest, which in the railroads led to thirty-three strikes from January to the beginning of July, 1919,—strikes which greatly disturbed traffic not only in the localities immediately affected, but in much larger surrounding regions.

Condition of the Railroads

Even in the summer season, when there is generally an increase in the railway travel facilities, there were only 42 per cent. of the usual number of passenger trains. Passenger trains neither leave on time nor arrive on time. The freight-car service has been reduced to half the normal level. In the Ruhr coal region, where in normal times 30,000 cars are loaded per day, not more than 16,000 are now available. In Upper Silesia, where the normal capacity per day in peace times was over 12,000 cars, now it is less than 5000.

The present financial losses of the railroads indicated by the total deficit given above, would mean that in order simply to meet current expenses the railroads would require a subvention of *ten million marks per day*.

Despite the harmful effect that it was bound to have upon commerce and industry, the rates have been increased on account of dearer coal, iron, and other materials, and especially the increased wages of railway employees, whose pay was notoriously low in comparison with that of other classes of labor.

The article from which the above information was obtained states furthermore:

Unfortunately there is no prospect that the financial situation of the railroads will improve in the calculable future. . . . Whereas the kilometric yield of a serviceable locomotive in October, 1916, was about 200 kilometers, the monthly average in May, 1919, was 153 kilometers. More locomotives have to be sent to the repair shops than are delivered by these shops. The number of locomotives under repair in peace times was about 20 per cent.; now it is over 40 per cent. . . . A middle-



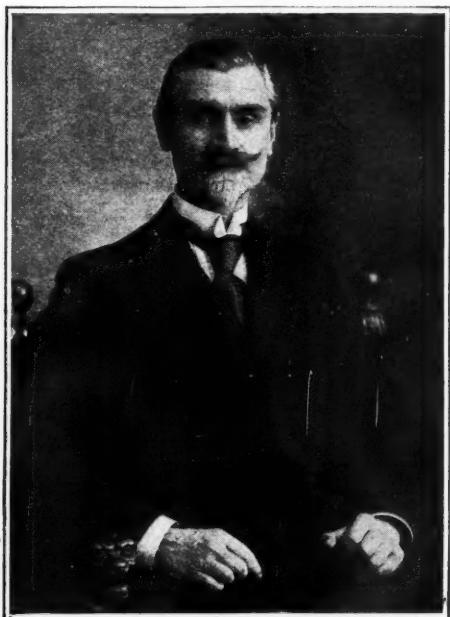
A GERMAN WAR "CATERPILLAR" NOW USED FOR HAULING HEAVY CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

sized locomotive repair shop, in 1916, with an average of 417 employees, turned out 484 locomotives. After the armistice, the labor force was increased to 1187, but the number of locomotives turned out was 411. From the first of April, 1919, the number of laborers rose to 1253, but the rate of delivery fell to 353.

Viewed as a whole, the economic situation of Germany seems to justify the expression of Dr. Dernburg, in the speech we have quoted, that "German economic life is sick, very sick." This situation grows out of her losses of population and territory, out of her dependence upon international trade (mainly with her late enemies), the diminished vitality of her underfed population, the enormous debt accumulated by the war and the revolutionary period which succeeded it, the wholesale transfer of productive materials and the payment of large indemnities and money contributions to the Allied nations, the constant surveillance to which she will be subjected by her victors during years to come, and her lost prestige among the nations of the world.

Nothing can save her from collapse but the speedy manifestation of those qualities of persevering work, intelligent economy, and productive ingenuity, for which the German was once reputed. If an increasing number of the working classes reach the conviction that the lion's share of what they produce will be taken by the State in the form of taxes, and a large part of it will in turn be handed over to the French and the British in the form of indemnities, there is no stop on the road to Bolshevism—a Bolshevism which might not be confined to Germany, and perhaps not even to Europe.

CHARLES CESTRE, A STUDENT OF AMERICAN CONDITIONS



PROFESSOR CESTRE OF BORDEAUX
(See article beginning on opposite page)

IMET Professor Cestre by pure chance; and acquaintance quickly ripened into an understanding friendship. An exigency of the Great War made us fellow-travelers on shipboard, through mine and submarine zones, during the under-sea campaign.

It was to him that I first poured out my soul concerning the possibility of educational relationship between America and France. Professor Cestre brought over a group of five young French women—three of whom had been in his classrooms at the University of Bordeaux, where he held the professorship of English Literature—to study at Bryn Mawr. In the months that followed, both of us presented before many American institutions the case of young French women who wished to study over here; and more than sixty institutions immediately responded.

No one who came to know him in the winter and the spring of 1918 was surprised that, when he returned to France, Professor Cestre was chosen to be the first lecturer

at the Sorbonne on American Literature and Civilization. He also lectured throughout France on the same subject, and was recalled to us last summer to speak for the University of California which already had conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In the months that followed he traveled far and wide, studying industrial and social unrest in America, collecting new materials for the lectures he is giving in France this winter, and preparing for the writing of the book on American conditions to-day which, in the light of the article that follows, will put him in line with Tocqueville and Bryce.

The writings of de Tocqueville and Prof. Charles Cestre curiously and continually reveal the personality back of the pen. Acuteness of observation, swift and sure generalizing genius and intellectual integrity characterize both. But de Tocqueville's background was largely legalistic, while Professor Cestre has the widest setting for his observations, ranging from politics to labor.

Both came to this country first when they were young; de Tocqueville never to return. Professor Cestre first to spend a year of graduate study at Harvard, then years later (after America entered the war) to be Exchange Professor at Harvard, and afterwards to travel throughout the land lecturing at many institutions and observing conditions during our world-war crisis.

Of the man it is only necessary to say that he is the finest product of French culture. He has heart as well as head. He enters with a gentleness and unerring intuition into simple human relationships, with an abandon that wins for him good friends of every type. He is both an expert in his chosen field and also ranges far and wide among the many interests of mankind. He knows facts and how to generalize concerning them without hurt to the truth.

France will do well to cherish and appreciate a man who can commend his country to the English-speaking world with singular success, and for the following article as well as for the book, whose plan I know, America will owe him a greater debt than she is already paying by confidence and friendship.

—LYMAN P. POWELL.

OUR LABOR SITUATION— A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW

BY CHARLES CESTRE

WHEN I left America, in October, after a four months' *voyage d'études* throughout the country, the Boston policemen's strike was reluctantly dragging to an end, the steel strike was raging on to the grand orchestra accompaniment of bomb outrages and cavalry charges, the strike of the building trades seemed to be crystallizing to a fixture, the pressmen and pressfeeders had just walked out, our steamer had to be loaded by her crew because of a strike of the 'longshoremen, and about a dozen other trades were tied up in various places. But I bade good-bye to New York with pretty sure confidence that those labor troubles were essentially surface agitations, and that America, the America I have known and trusted for twenty years, would soon emerge out of the temporary welter, whole, composed, self-reconciled, more fit than ever to play her part in the evolution of the modern world.

Humanizing of Industrial Relationships

My hopeful expectation is based upon a careful study of industrial conditions in America and an enquiry into the efforts made and the means taken by the more thoughtful, far-seeing and enterprising manufacturers to meet the demands of the hour, reverse the maladjustments of the past and prepare the developments of the future. I have conversed as well with workingmen and workingmen's leaders enough to ascertain that the more intelligent among them, and the more prompt to perceive the signs of the time, begin to realize there is a new spirit abroad that calls for constructive policy on their part and entails duties as the necessary consequence of rights. To my admiring surprise, I seemed to detect, in the ruffled stream of American life, nascent steady currents of social reform, that intimate the greatest change history has recorded since the establishment of the factory system, namely, the rise, in the country richest in material resources, of forces which bid fair to husband the greatest wealth of all, the wealth of human values.

The whole world is preparing for a similar change, as the outcome of a century of humane and Christian endeavor in the circles where the full results of heartless economic competition appeared in their ghastly horror. What if America, buffeting her way through all obstacles, were to rise in the field of moral and social action as the pioneer nation, thus continuing the work she did in the conquest of the wilderness? The world cannot afford to stand indifferent.

In the accomplishment of this reform, America will be indebted to currents of thought from the Old World. In England, Carlyle, Ruskin and more recent schools of philosophical and Christian socialists denounced the ruthless disregard by captains of industry of the sanctity of human life. In France, thinkers like St.-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Jaurés launched forward the notions of "justice," of "service," of "work accomplished in joy," of "coöperation," of "solidarity." They have founded a social doctrine, resting not, like Marxian socialism, on the fierce imperialism of material greed and on the false scientism of spurious economics but on the sacredness of the individual and on the right of all to reach autonomy and the full development of their personality. England and France have passed labor laws that protect the workers from the worst evils of the factory system.

But state legislation, however beneficial (and indispensable), changes the institutions without changing the feelings. It is a far cry from justice inscribed at the frontispiece of the code of humanity engraven in the hearts. The relations between employers and employees are still far from what they ought to be in England and in France. Autocratic individualism is still too often the attitude of the employers, and, in reaction to the uncompromisingness, radical socialism, the doctrine of total subversion, the frenzy of class-struggle is still too often the attitude of the workingman. America has always had less of either folly. Of late, although she is still far from cured of all injustice or all unrest,

she has taken, or rather her enlightened citizens have taken, important steps which bring her nearer, perhaps, than any other country to the removal of the social temper, plague and shame of modern times.

America's Genuine Democracy

America—the New World—has developed a daring spirit, as well in the realm of moral and social improvement as in the field of enterprise. America is not hampered by clogging traditions or die-hard prejudices. She has been so constantly favored by exceptional circumstances, and has so steadily turned them to account by her skill and energy, that she is entitled to look forward with confidence to a future of successful undertaking. As a democracy, she associates *all* her children in her achievements and her hopes. Indeed, she is the only true democracy, that is, the only country where equality has more than a political meaning and has begun partially to rule the feelings and timidly to creep into the domain of facts. To this democratic spirit I attribute, in part, the social advance that America has already made ahead of the rest of the world. Another precious trait of hers is her genius for organization, her rare ability to apply scientific knowledge to the activities of practical life.

Lastly, I shall mention her imagination, of such quality that it unites boldness and generosity of vision with a keen and sure sense of actual results. Of all nations, America (if we except the reactionary element and the radical faction, of which she cannot be wholly free) stands for integral democracy, well-regulated progress, humanity combined with sound business administration, the square deal harmonized with square profits, in virtue of that doctrine of hers, the very life-spring of her excellences, which I should call the *idealism of action*.

The American Workingman's Improved Environment

America has outgrown the economic superstitions of the Old World enough already to regard with disapproval, on the employers' side, the autocratic mastership of industry, and, on the employees' side, the Marrianian fallacy of class-struggle. Saying so much is not exaggerating facts, if one judges the recent strikes (as they are) for the last spasmodic outbursts of the old obstinacy and pugnacity (on both sides), that cannot die out without a final hand-to-hand scuffle. The progressive

spirit, on the other hand, has manifested itself in so many places, assumed so rich and promising forms, and, within a short time, gathered so much momentum, as to justify in all sane reason the most promising hopes.

When I started from France I knew that the American workman received higher wages, enjoyed a broader scope of life, had secured greater physical and mental comforts, than the European worker. Indeed I had heard and read so much about the transformation of the environment and of the living conditions of the laborers, that I purposed especially to investigate safety, housing and welfare work. But I had scarcely begun my inquiry when I discovered that welfare work was almost a thing taken for granted, actually a thing which the worker hardly cared to receive unless it should be part of the regular equipment of the plant and should not be tendered to him as an especial mark of benevolence.

I realized that the reform of the industrial régime in America had proceeded far beyond the stage of material amelioration towards the *humanization* of industry, had outreached the effort at outward betterment to strain—already with considerable success—at *inward* progress. The former movement (valuable, in itself and for its possibilities) dwindled in importance beside the latter movement that tended to free from bondage the deeper forces of human nature, to release the hidden energies of the soul, and, as a consequence, to strike loose the pregnant and permanent sources of creative power and of happiness.

I went about visiting factories and questioning men, eager to learn how far the new principle was understood, how fully carried out. Indeed, I came across employers who had not so much as awaked to the idea, and workers who stuck so narrowly to old prejudices as to distrust the idea. But I also met employers thrilled with the consciousness of the new duty, and workingmen already embracing the full width of the new horizon opened to their ken.

The movement was well on, and, on the whole, proceeding along the line of the most enlightened social idealism, while sanely keeping pace with the best methods of profitable business. The significance of it was that it grew from private initiative and developed on the strength of personal conviction. It was not imposed from above by a party temporarily possessed of the instrumentality of government; it was not reluc-

tantly carried out in grudging submission to decreed statute and law. It grew out of voluntary reasoned acceptance of a new truth, out of a sincere, active conversion to a new humane sympathy, out of a faith in the triumph of justice, sanity, mutual respect and coöperative action. America, approaching the solution of the social problem after the method in which she had always been supreme, remained true to *individualism*, but individualism touched to nobler issues by the facts of recent history, vitalized by disinterestedness, humanized by a new sense of solidarity.

"Idealism of Action"

The Americans have always been intensely capable of enthusiasm, and, at the same time, sanely able to control the heat of their feelings. In the present case, I have found them realizing the full human import of the reform, but resolved as well to justify it by its practical and tangible results. To fit the man to the job and adapt the job to the man, to restore in the workman's consciousness the pride and the joy of work well done and of a fair day's work, to diminish the fatigue and to increase the output, to reward every effort at quantity or quality by praise and a raise of the wage, to enlarge the workman's outlook on his work and on life—all this implies the growth of the human faculties in the worker, along with the growth of the profits, both a moral gain for the individual and for the nation, and a material gain in which employers, employees and the public alike will share. Idealism of action! Achievements that are of the matter and of the spirit, as they ought to be in a universe which is body and soul. Industry cannot fail to conform to the general law of dualism that regulates the destiny of man and conditions man's mastery over the forces of nature. In this conformity truth lies.

Not all the employers have seen the light, nor the employees proved capable of profiting by it. All great social changes are of slow growth. But the war has kneaded the minds of men to unusual pliability, and made the feelings of men receptive to novelties, in the desire to ward off from the inner life of the nation the blindness and folly that wrought such havoc in the outward relation of peoples. There is hardly a sensible observer of social conditions but realizes how conscious the labor world has become of its power as one of the agencies contributing to the wealth of the nation. The masses will

not be satisfied now unless political democracy develops into social democracy, and includes some form of industrial democracy. The workers will not receive the essential prerogatives of the new freedom from the paternalism of some well-intentioned employers. They claim a new status, which must be based upon the decided recognition of their right as producers, as intelligent and sentient beings, and as autonomous persons.

The reform movement, initiated before the war, has received an increased impetus from the abnormal conditions of war-time. The Government of the United States, as war-time employer, made itself opportunely instrumental in bringing about a spirit of conciliation and coöperation, and in shaping some of the policies and institutions that might embody it in facts, yet without resorting to the irrevocable compulsion of law. Example and suggestion came from the government plants, giving force to the most fruitful principles and the most constructive plans of industrial reform, still leaving to *individual* initiative its spontaneity and strength of inner motive.

Devotion to the cause manifests itself in active propaganda, setting forth not only doctrinal truth, but the highly satisfactory results already secured by its applications. The moment is favorable to the onrush of one of those great fertilizing floods of ideas, that at long intervals sweep the country. A vague unrest in the national atmosphere exerts its latent pressure on the mind; notions that have been slowly ripening in the womb of time are nearing fruition. The path is cleared; far-sighted men are leading onward. A timely reform, voluntarily arrived at, will enable America to tide over the crisis by an *evolutionary* process, keeping off and forestalling revolution.

Capitalists already declare their conviction that the time is past when large fortunes could be built in a short time by fair or foul means. Public control will more and more be set up against it. Labor will not allow it. The new social justice has impressed capital and management with a sense of responsibility towards others.

Labor is no longer looked upon as a commodity, submitted to the iron law of supply and demand. A fair wage, covering not only the bare necessities of life but a margin for education, recreation, the bringing up of a family, the mental growth of the individual and his dependents, is the least that the workman can receive. Growing rich out of starv-

ation wages appears now as a crime. The only legitimate way of building a prosperous industry is by improving the machinery and the management, eliminating the waste, and serving the interests of the consumers as well as the producers! Manufacturing will thrive on high wages and low sale-prices, provided it has the proper leading ability.

The workingman is no longer treated as a piece of machinery, only less to be cared for than steel or brass, because it repairs itself. A new respect for the man in the workman has set in.

Dealing with the Individual Workingman

Hiring the workman has become a delicate task, tactfully and thoughtfully performed. The greatest care is taken to assign the man to the job for which he is fitted by his physical constitution, his aptitudes, his previous training. Every precaution is taken, from the very start, to give him all means to make good and all reasons to be satisfied. Instead of being put brutally to work and left to shift for himself, sink or swim, he is gradually broken in, shown the characteristics of his machine and the peculiarities of his work, kindly supervised, warned or directed by an instructor, who no longer drives but teaches. The green hand, the while, receives his pay—the minimum living wage below which the company makes it a point not to let the remuneration fall.

The workman is started now, and begins doing piece-work—not the old piece-work, the rate of which was arbitrarily set and too often "cut" as soon as the worker was beginning to make a decent day wage; but the new piece-work, with a handsome bonus above the standard, whenever the man makes an effort to acquire skill or to gain time. The standard is established by scientific time studies, with the collaboration of the workmen, and finally approved by the workmen. The bonus rate is fixed *ne varietur*, should even (in case an error had been committed) the day wage rise to an unprecedented figure. Indeed, the new spirit thus created has often improved the tone of mutual relations to the point that workers were seen to come, of their own accord, to the manager and tell him that the rate had been fixed too high.

The workman is followed up; his doings from day to day are carefully recorded—not with any intention of suspicion, but out of solicitude, in order to do him full justice. He is expected, within the first two or three weeks, as he gets more and more used to his

work, to do better, both to the advantage of the firm and to his own, his share of surplus wage being strictly proportionate to the surplus output. If he has not increased his production or improved the quality of his product, after a reasonable delay, he is not blamed, or bullied, or left to rot in mediocrity, or summarily dismissed (which were the only alternatives of old), but the management consider themselves as responsible for his lesser efficiency, until they have exhausted all the means of remedying it. Either the man was insufficiently taught, or there was something wrong in the machinery, or in the planning of the work, or in the materials. After all the causes have been investigated, if it is proved the fault lies with the man he is not "fired," but transferred to another department, where he may be better able to give the full measure of his quality.

If the workman, during the first weeks, brings out a record of steady improvement, the management, far from ignoring it or taking it as a matter of course, foresees the desires of the worker by promoting him to a better job or a higher pay. The promotion is not granted mechanically by the shifting of the man's name from one list to another, or the slipping of a ticket in his pay-envelope; he is called up by the "boss," in all simplicity and cordiality, and praised for his zeal, while the reward is announced to him.

Schooling for the Workers

The human factor is now foremost. The appeal to the higher motives becomes the chief object of attention. The workman is no longer riveted to his machine, like the convict to his chain, with that most oppressive of burdens weighing on him—the lack of any opening on a better future, the stifling sense of a confined atmosphere that will never admit of a breath of purer air. Now, the workman has a prospect before him that will expand wider, fairer, more rich with opportunities, as he exerts himself more strenuously.

Many plants have established schools and training shops, where technical instruction is given, free of charge, with the wage paid during school hours, to the men who have the capacity and the will to learn. In those plants, the highly skilled workers, the draftsmen, the foremen, even when occasion offers an engineer, a superintendent or a manager, are recruited from the working force. More and more, modern industrialists realize that

money and material welfare are not the one and all of life for the workingman any more than for the *bourgeois*. A century of liberty, of education, of constant social progress under democratic laws has brought forth the fact that a man's personality remains cramped and stunted, unless it can reach its full development in the mental and moral sphere, as well as in the physical. Give all a chance to attain man's full stature, recognize for all the right to self-expression—such is the watchword that cannot be silenced again by any clamor of selfish gain, unfeeling greed, or would-be irrefragable economic law.

True Industrial Democracy

The next step has been to give labor a share in the management, at first in advisory, and then, to some extent in a controlling capacity. Shop regulations, labor conditions, mental and physical welfare, industrial relations, even hours, wages, profit-sharing and the broader policies of management are brought under discussion in joint committees of employers and employed. Shop-committees (as they are called) have made so rapid progress that they may be considered as one of the most promising features of the new régime of industry.

Arbitration is but a makeshift, in so far as it comes into action only after a conflict has broken out and embittered feelings have already risen. Of greater import is a permanent board, which takes up litigious questions as they dawn, before unpleasant encounters have bred irreparable enmity. Broad lines of agreement on vital points forestall serious clashes; friendly discussions from week to week constantly readjust the workaday practice. Provided the spirit in which the joint meetings are conducted answer to the new conception of social inter-aid and willing coöperation, the results cannot fail to be mutually educative, conducive as well to industrial peace as to enlarged production. Here is the true field for the full expansion of man's personality; here is the *locus* where the consummation of material and mental advancement will be effected! Industrial democracy, indeed! but without some of the drawbacks of political democracy, and with some of its more beneficent features: a strong executive invested with both authority and responsibility, and a respected legislative, elected on the basis of professional competence, with the power of counsel and control, in a sphere of limited

attributions (perhaps soon to enlarge) and with the charge of keeping discipline, loyalty and truthfulness to the worker's duty.

The Attitude of Trade-Unionism

The Trade Unions have not yet fully realized the great, noble possibilities of the new régime. They were formed at a time when warfare raged through the world of industry and capital was not disposed to let go any particle of its autocratic sway. Their regulations, many of which are tyrannical, un-economic and anti-social, were aggressive or defensive measures, called forth by the needs of the struggle. Yet American trade-unionism firmly took its stand on the ground of professional claims, closing its ears to the suggestions of socialistic revolutionary doctrines, sounded from abroad. The present wave of radicalism is but the turbid back-water of the Bolshevik tide, a sorry aftermath of the moral disintegration wrought by the war. It will not have a lasting influence on America—nor, as we can see now, on Western Europe. Radicalism will subside.

The narrow, clogging, merely negative prejudices of the older trade-unionism, on the other hand, will wear away in time. Already there are signs of a change. Union men, in the open shops that have instituted joint committees, have been elected as the representatives of the workers, and, face to face with facts and responsibilities, have adopted the constructive policy of coöperation with capital. A few unions have become reconciled to scientific management, in view of its uncontestedly advantageous results. Some trades have organized after new principles that bring them nearer to the progressive employers than to the retrogressive old-time unions. It is not rash to foresee, in the near future, the triumph of the joint committees of employers and employed, formed not against but in coöperation with the renovated trade unions. An opportune inner regeneration of the A. F. of L. may then maintain it as the great unifying organ of the general policies of labor, no longer to restrict output and level down capacities, but to further larger production.

It is no Utopia to picture such future realizations in America, in the light of the progressive institutions already in existence, and in presence of the successful efforts at humane reform combined with intelligent business, under the aegis of the "idealism of action."

AMERICA'S PRECEDENT FOR MANDATES

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER

(Judge of the United States Court for China)

THOSE who urge that our government should accept the proffered mandate of Armenia and Anatolia may find an illuminating precedent in the Philippine experiment. We did not call our nation a "mandatary" there. Indeed the term had never been so used at the time we took over the archipelago. But the reader of President McKinley's instructions of April 7, 1900, to the Philippine Commission—the basis of our whole subsequent policy in the islands—will find a strange anticipation of the mandate idea as set forth in the League of Nations Covenant. President McKinley told the Philippine Commission:

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

Emphasizing the inviolability of private property he declared:

That the welfare of the people of the Islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right.

Regarding the system of law, President McKinley said:

The main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people should be maintained with as little interference as possible.

And as regards one other important though delicate question he directed:

That no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or

upon any citizen of the Islands; that, upon the other hand, no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between state and church shall be real, entire and absolute.

Turning now to the League of Nations Covenant, we find Article 22 reciting:

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

Lessons from the Philippine Experiment

That President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission have been carried out, both in the spirit and the letter, no fair and well-informed observer of Philippine events during the past two decades will question. The spirit of those instructions animated what was, on the whole, the most efficient and highly trained Civil Service which ever functioned under American sovereignty, and it made possible the attainment there of marvelous results along the lines of sanitation, education, justice, police, finance, and various phases of social and industrial activity.

It is an interesting fact, and not necessarily a mere coincidence, that American interests in Armenia are now represented by one who bore an important and highly creditable part in the practical working out of our Philippine policy. Major-General James G. Harbord is, at the present writing, in charge of a mission which is investigating conditions in part of what once was Turkey, with a view to taking it over. And General Harbord was one of the organizers, and long the Assistant Chief, of the Philippines Constabulary, that interesting and efficient

body of native police under American officers which for years maintained the *Pax Americana* in that distant and then disturbed archipelago.

The Philippine experiment, indeed, has enabled us to write one of the most creditable chapters in our national history. But it is well to remember at this time that the experiment was entered upon against great opposition and amid many prophecies of evil and failure. Our national disinclination to undertake tasks outside our immediate geographical sphere would, if yielded to in that instance, have prevented us from meeting a crisis in far eastern affairs and doing worthily a great piece of world work.

And it is remarkable how closely the situation then existing is paralleled by the present one in Turkey. In both instances a long war had practically destroyed the pre-existing government, and anarchy was imminent unless a stronger power should intervene to restore order and promote the progress of the inhabitants.

Why the Turkish Mandate Should Be Easier

Contrary to an apparently prevalent impression, a close analysis fails to show where the present Turkish situation offers greater obstacles to a mandate than did the Philippines of twenty years ago. Indeed, there are several important considerations which should make the Turkish problem an easier one to solve. American philanthropic effort is not new in Turkey. What little of light and hope has come to the oppressed inhabitants of that unfortunate realm in recent years has had its source in America. The two foremost educational institutions of the Sultan's empire—Robert College in Constantinople and the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut—were both founded and maintained by Americans.

In Armenia especially the educational effort has been almost wholly American, and, thanks to generations of self-sacrificing missionaries, educational and otherwise, our countrymen are chiefly known throughout the old empire for their good works and their desire to advance the people. Even the Turks announce that they will not "offer any resistance to the assumption by America of her mandatorial responsibility." And this announcement loses little of its significance because the Turks hope to preserve more of their domain.

In what unfortunate contrast to this at-

titude of welcome was our countrymen's reception in the Philippines! There America and Americans were then unknown, and the most grotesque ideas—a product of enemy propaganda—were widely entertained as to the insignificance of our country and the baseness of our designs. Formerly, indeed, it had been different, for we once had important commercial relations with the Philippines and sent a consul there as early as 1821. But after our flag was driven from the Pacific during the Civil War, few Americans visited the Philippines and we had no missionaries there, for Spain excluded practically all such except her own subjects. It was easy, therefore, to create suspicion of Americans; and suspicion was largely the cause of the Filipino uprising against America. In fact, it has only been within recent years that the effect of those early misrepresentations was overcome and cordial relations established between Americans and Filipinos generally.

With the different attitude of the inhabitants of Turkey that catastrophe should be avoided and fears of needing to keep a large standing army there seem groundless. A commission of Armenian generals of the former Russian army recently reported:

That, in the absence of any preliminary organization work among the Armenians, a maximum of 30,000 men may be required to occupy Armenia, and that 15,000 of these men may be withdrawn in the course of a few months—that is, following the beginning of the organization of Armenian contingents.

The problem there as in other parts of Turkey is largely one of internal order; and for maintaining that there could be no more effective force than one recruited from the best of the natives on the model of the Philippines Constabulary, which General Harbord helped so largely to build. Such a force would need no Americans except as commissioned officers. Even they would not be paid from American funds. For the expenses of the Philippines Constabulary, including its American officers, have always been defrayed from the insular treasury, and an honest and efficient fiscal administration in Turkey would render possible similar results there. Any soldiers who might be needed at first are already in Europe; and in any event the transportation of troops and supplies to Turkey is a much simpler problem than that to the Philippines a score of years ago. For Constantinople is hardly half the distance to Manila.

The religious differences between Christian and Moslem would doubtless afford the most difficult problem in Turkey; but for that also our Philippine experience has prepared us. The Mohammedan Moros and the Christian Filipinos were hereditary enemies for centuries, and the constant fear in which the latter lived is attested by the numerous watch towers along the coasts of the northern Philippines where the inhabitants anxiously awaited the first sight of the marauders from the south. The long rule of Spain served little if any to allay that strife. But in America's brief régime it has almost entirely disappeared.

Thanks to an unusually able group of military administrators of Mindanao, including Generals Wood, Bliss, and Pershing, followed by the signally successful administration of civilian Governor Carpenter, these two segments of the Filipino race have come at last to know each other better; and in the Philippine Legislature at Manila, Moro and Igorot members mingle with those from the Christian provinces on a friendly and equal footing. Their medium of communication is not the native dialects, which differ from province to province, nor yet the language of old Spain, but the English which the American-initiated public school has made accessible to the humblest of the new generation.

What American is not proud of such an achievement or would not be prouder of seeing it repeated, on a larger scale, in Turkey?

An Opportunity for Service

In the Philippines we have lent our help to what is often called the only native Christian people in Asia. But in Turkey we have the greater opportunity of saving from utter extinction the remnant of the oldest Christian nation in the world—the Armenians. And recent reports indicate that the opportunity may long continue. Can we fail to regret it if this persecuted and long-suffering people is permitted to perish for want of assistance which we might so easily supply?

Nor are the other inhabitants of even the so-called "Turkish portions" of Asia Minor unworthy of our interest and aid. The Turk has imposed upon them his religion and his language and these artificial features have made them seem like Turks. But the best authorities on the ethonology of that

region now agree that for the most part they are not Turks at all but authochthonous inhabitants, descending in direct line from people of prehistoric times. There are signs, too, that they would welcome the chance to throw off the fetters which the savage Turanian invader once riveted upon them. What an opportunity for our country to help undo the cruel wrong of centuries!

America has cleansed and beautified Manila, the Pearl of the Far East. It could do more—the field is larger—for the historic city of Constantine. What a chance for our sanitary engineers, our architects and our city-builders, as well as our archaeologists and scholars! What an opportunity to restore that proud Queen of the Bosphorus and make it once more what for nearly eleven centuries it was—a world capital!

We have benefited the Filipinos and we can benefit the Armenians and the Anatolians. But the greatest benefit from such undertaking comes back to ourselves. "Teaching we learn, and giving we receive."

And our Philippine experiment has broadened and bettered us far more than we yet realize. Our national horizon is larger and our knowledge of, and respect for, the institutions of other countries has increased. Our own public service has been improved by the experience. Many a young American who found his vocation in the Philippines is now utilizing what he learned there for the benefit of his government in some more important post. Experts in tropical medicine, agricultural experts, foresters, as well as civil administrators and teachers, may trace the beginnings of their careers to the Philippines. Many of the commanding figures in our military service during the late war began their real work in the archipelago. In addition to those already mentioned it is sufficient to cite names like that of Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, now about to be elevated to the rank of Lieutenant-General for phenomenal services in making possible our great and efficient army; Gen. Hunter Liggett, whose brilliant operations in the field were so striking a feature of the closing months of the war; Bishop Charles H. Brent, head of the chaplains; and Dr. Richard P. Strong, who did so much for the Serbians.

The Philippines have provided us a training school, and there is no reason to suppose that Turkey will afford less. Is it the part of wisdom to reject an opportunity which offers so much for all concerned?

CANADA'S MEMORABLE YEAR

BY J. P. GERRIE

NINETEEN hundred and nineteen will always be a memorable year in Canada. Privately and publicly it will take an unforgettable place. It stands linked to the whole war period as no other twelve months can ever be. It presages the future with vision both significant and vital. In a very far reaching and momentous sense 1919 will be the great Divide.

The Soldier's Civil Reëstablishment

The home-coming of the soldiers was speeded beyond expectation, and Canada's large contributions of men to the war are practically all returned. Back they are after varying periods of service reaching up over five years. They are home from Ypres, Zillebeke, Passchendale, Courcellette, Vimy, Lens, the Somme, and a score of the sorest battlefields of the war, where they and their fallen comrades fought for democracy with devotion and heroism unsurpassed. They are again in their homeland, lifted to a foremost place among all lands through their valor and triumph in arms.

And now at home again comes the ever-growing realization that there is a tremendous bit to be done in ways of peace, as there was in ways of war. There is before them an idealism in citizenship urgent and insistent for the fullest realism. But the settling-down process, after years of army life, is far from easy.

Vocational training is opening a wide door for many thousands. Large numbers are found in the universities and colleges, whose registers show twice the number of names of one year ago. The government land and loan schemes are finding wide acceptance. Multitudes are back in their old callings, or are in other employments.

Building Up a Sober Land

Years before the war the trend of action in prohibiting the liquor traffic was most pronounced. In many places the results of local option were completed with war-time prohibition. In this way nearly the whole of Canada had become dry. It was then claimed by the opponents of prohibition that with the return of the soldiers there would

be an emphatic reversion to the old order. Indications now point to the very opposite.

The province of Ontario has just shown at the polls what may be expected throughout all Canada. The war-time measure had run its course, and four questions were submitted to the electors.

1. Are you in favor of the repeal of the Ontario Temperance Act? This is the wartime prohibition measure.
2. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer containing not more than 2.51 per cent. alcohol, weight measure, through Government agencies?
3. Are you in favor of the sale of light beer containing not more than 2.51 per cent. alcohol, weight measure, in standard hotels in municipalities that by majority vote in favor of such sale?
4. Are you in favor of the sale of spirituous and malt liquor through Government agencies?

The vote was an overwhelming negative on all four counts, and what has happened in Ontario will undoubtedly happen in all Canada.

One weakness in provincial legislation has been the constitutional inability to prohibit the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors. The importation difficulty was taken up in the recent sitting of the Federal Parliament, when the machinery to deal with the matter was placed in the hands of the provincial legislatures. Canada will not go back to the bar room and the saloon. 1919 has given the answer to this.

New Forces at the Front

It was further claimed that with the return of the soldiers there would come a political upheaval. A political upheaval there has come in Ontario, which bids fair to extend to the whole of Canada. The upheaval was not, however, at the hands of the soldiers, but from the farmers, who overthrew the Conservative administration and defeated the other old-time Liberal party. The vote was 45 United Farmers, 28 Liberals, 25 Conservatives, 11 Labor, 1 Independent Labor, and 1 Soldier. The result is a United Farmers administration under the Premiership of Mr. E. C. Dury, a large and successful farmer at Crownhill near the town of Barrie. Perhaps nowhere else in the world is there a similar situation.

The upheaval is the more remarkable when it is recalled that for three and thirty years the Liberals guided the affairs of the province and were followed by the Conservatives for fourteen years until the recent fateful day when they were defeated at the polls by the United Farmers.

The old-time Conservatism, it would seem, is a matter of the past. Eight provinces are now under Liberal rule, while the ninth has a United Farmers' administration whose program is so closely allied to the Liberal platform that the Hon. Mackenzie King, the new Liberal leader in the House of Commons, when in search of a seat refused to contest a constituency where a United Farmer was the candidate.

The new Ontario government will be watched with great interest, and if successful in its administration a great Dominion sweep may be expected by the United Farmers, inasmuch as among the farmers everywhere, particularly in the West, the demand has been insistent for a lower tariff. This was most apparent in the reciprocity issue of 1911, when Saskatchewan and Alberta each sent but one member to Ottawa who was opposed to the measure.

New forces are at work in Canada, and old time reactionary parties and measures will get short shrift from the electors in time to come. The new forces, however, must see that their work is not along class lines, or they too will come to grief at the polls.

Strengthening British Ties

Several occurrences of the year might indicate the weakening of Canadian ties as far as the mother land is concerned. One of these was the discontinuance of all further titles of knighthood. Among the very few comments by the British press was one claiming that this action of the Canadian Parliament would not make for the solidarity of the British Empire. There was, however, no thought of breaking British ties in doing away with titles. Knighthood in Canada had become hopelessly cheapened, particularly since the advent of the former Dominion government. Some English papers saw in the Canadian action a movement which might help to right matters in their own land. But apart from all this, it is felt that titles and class distinctions are ill-fitting in the thoroughgoing democracy of the young Dominion.

There is an undoubted admiration for English thoroughness and scholarship as seen

in the editorials of the great journals, the public platform, and the pulpit. Canada's soldiers have also returned proud of the motherland for stepping so promptly into the breach for humanity, and doing a part so bravely, uncomplainingly, and with untold sacrifices in the long years of the world's war. Canadians cannot but feel that, but for the Old Land, Germany would have been triumphant in her world's designs.

The visit of the Prince of Wales, heir to the Empire's throne, has also incalculably strengthened British ties. From the Atlantic to the Pacific his tour everywhere was one great ovation. Nor was there in any place fawning to mere royalty. Greetings and acclamations were such as are frequently given to statesmen and public leaders in the United States and Canada. Yet the reception had a character peculiarly its own. The fact that the visitor was heir to the throne had its undoubted place; but the fact that he was likable, democratic, open-visioned, a man (or, perhaps better, a boy) of the people, gave him his tremendous grip on the Canadian heart. Had he been of another type his tour would have undoubtedly been different. Canada, therefore, sees in him not merely a symbol of a united Empire, but a potentiality which will tell for good in this union, and in the great sisterhood of nations.

Land Taxation in Alberta

With the beginning of 1920, a new system of taxation comes into operation in the province of Alberta, Canada. Prior to this the single tax prevailed on the basis of acreage. That is, adjoining farms of equal acreage carried equal taxation. One might be of greater value in productiveness, yet the tax rate would be the same. Nor did improvements, no matter how extensive, change this rate. In reality the unimproved land carried the higher taxation by reason of a wild land tax.

The new system will continue this recognition of improvements, but the essential difference will be taxes according to raw land values. The two adjoining farms just alluded to will vary in taxation according to natural productiveness. The character of the soil will be considered as well as coulees, ravines, and other conditions which impair cultivation. A general valuation will be made every five years, though provision is made for special valuation for changed conditions through the building of public works.

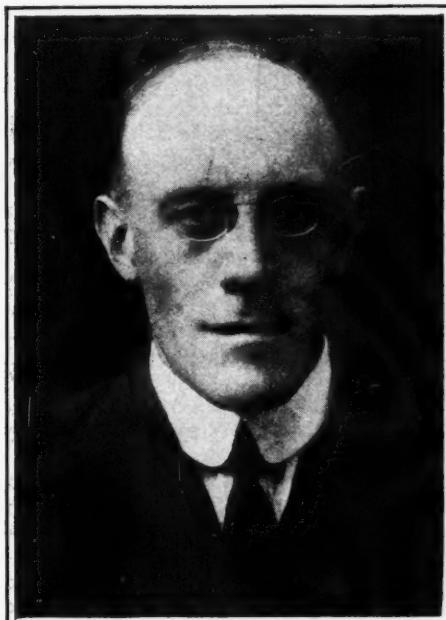
SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

BY FRANK DILNOT

AMONG the many upheavals, personal and political, produced by the war in Britain, no individual occurrence has been more humanly interesting than the fact that a Scotch professor of thirty-six at McGill University, Montreal, has, by a mixture of circumstances and his own character and fibre, been thrust upward and onward until at the present moment he occupies a position in the government of Britain second only to that of Mr. Lloyd George himself.

Sir Auckland Geddes—he was plain Auckland Geddes in those far-off days before the war—from being a soldier, then an organizer on the Western Front, was subsequently entrusted with the mobilization and utilization of the entire man power of the British Isles, military and civil. He now has the Cabinet position of President of the Board of Trade, with powers unheard-of in the department before he took control. He can put duties on imports or take them off, he is one of the high arbiters in labor disputes. He is not only the Government administrator, but the author and framer of legislation on coal, canals, wool, company laws, shipping, electricity, patents, profiteering, and a hundred domestic matters ranging down to the regulations regarding weights and measures. It is not too much to say that on him more than on any other single man depends the new productivity of Britain for world trade which will once more make her a prosperous nation. It is equally a fact that his daily work and his edicts affect the family life of practically all the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Britain with the war legacy of overwrought nerves, with its accompaniment of mingled lassitude and irritability, is not paying her way but is living partly on borrowed funds. Money has shifted in bulk from one class to another. The cost of living is double what it was in pre-war times. Labor is rebellious, and is threatening to take control. Many industries have been disrupted, many entirely destroyed, and though new activities are in project and reconstruction in a dozen directions is being pushed ahead, it will be many months—pos-



SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, A BRITISH ADMINISTRATOR WITH FAR REACHING POWERS

sibly years—before anything like the Britain of the old peace days is restored. True, the calibre of the nation is beginning slowly to assert itself, but at present there is something like chaos.

To guide the British people safely through that chaos is the task laid on Sir Auckland Geddes. He is doing amazingly well in the presence of complications and obstacles which no statesman has ever before had to encounter in peace-time. In other words, he is a phenomenon. I have a pretty good knowledge of English public life, and I am confident that within five years if Sir Auckland liked to continue his devotion to public work he could be Prime Minister. But I can state definitely that in spite of the inevitable inducements, Sir Auckland intends to change from this new life back into the old one. He will return to McGill University, not as a professor, but as Principal, the University authorities having appointed

him to that post during his absence on war work in Europe.

It is breaking no confidence to state that Sir Auckland Geddes feels he can do wider, deeper, and more permanent work for the common good as the chief director of a great university, forming the minds and moods of educated young men in a new continent, than in carrying out the executive and legislative functions of the moment in the government even of a great country like Britain. In that fact alone one gets a glimpse of the man. He is going to McGill University as soon as the British Prime Minister can release him, certainly during the next year, it may be within the next six months.

The development of a masterly personality always has a touch of drama when, as does not always happen, opportunity for great and famous achievement breaks forth and is seized upon. But for the war, Auckland Geddes would have been known to educational circles as a clever specialist in certain branches of physiology and as an accomplished student in sociology; but to the outside world he would not have been known at all. His swift grasp, his iron will, his stupendous capacity for work and responsibility, his sweeping vision, and—marvelous to relate—the irradiating sunniness of the man through it all, these things in the wider sense would have been lost, unrecognized. It just so happens, however, that at the age of forty his name has become one of national eminence. More even than that, because other countries besides his own are watching his actions and dwelling on his words, for his policies have their effect across the oceans.

I knew what Sir Auckland Geddes was like in Parliament, and in September I went up to the Board of Trade to see what kind of man he was face to face in his office in private talk. But before I give an indication of his personality it would be well to sketch the sources from which he sprang and the conditions which molded him.

His Pre-War Record

The Geddes are a very old Scottish family. Auckland Geddes, father of the present bearer of the name, was a railway engineer, and from the middle of last century onward was engaged in one of the biggest undertakings in India. He had three children, each of whom was fated to attract notice, two boys and one girl, the latter now Mrs. Chalmers Watson, who has done much public work. She and her brother Eric (the

latter also a Cabinet Minister) were born in India; but young Auckland's birthplace was the pleasant suburb of Hampstead in the north of London. At six years of age he went to Edinburgh to school, and from that time onward through his formative years up to manhood he was associated with the Scottish capital, gaining distinction in the university there.

In his college career he was drawn specially to the study of physiology. Probing deep into the special subjects he was more or less an expert, in his early twenties, in recondite sciences such as biology, anthropology, and embryology. When now you meet this very human, vivacious, and virile man, it is a little hard to realize that he was once the winner of a gold medal for a treatise on special physiological growths.

It should be added, therefore, that he was pretty much like every other healthy and active university student in his likes and dislikes and social inclinations. He revelled in outdoor life, and was a star at football, representing his university in the Rugby game. He sang a good rollicking song, too. He was just a human, popular fellow. The other side of him was his remarkable avidity of mind. He did not seek distinction; he sought knowledge. That was one of the curious things about this young student. To master a subject was to him like taking a refreshing drink. One wonders how he had time for an enthusiastic membership in the Volunteers, but at any rate he had, and he developed considerable aptitude for military work.

When the South African war broke out he joined the Highland Light Infantry for the fighting, although as it so happened his regiment did not land in South Africa until the closing stages of the war, in 1901. In that period, however, he had learned thoroughly the duties of a soldier.

Leaving the army, he went back to his studies and finding that special experience was necessary, he toured various seats of learning in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. He gathered many impressions about Germany in that tour, and he never afterwards lost the conviction that the Germans had war aspirations which could not be satisfied with anything less than a conflict that would make or break them.

It was no doubt as a result, to some extent, of his German visit that he took up the study of military strategy, which from that time onwards has had the greatest

interest for him. He had no intention of becoming a soldier, but military problems and military achievements of the past opened the way for vision upon national growth and temperament—for instance, as to the effect of the imposition of alien populations upon each other, and kindred problems. From various educational positions he presently went to Canada as Professor of Anatomy at McGill University.

His Early Part in the War.

It is related that when the news of the war came he was just starting from Montreal for a holiday in Nova Scotia. He gave up his holiday and telegraphed an offer of his services to the War Office in London. A few weeks later he received a summons to report at Whitehall. It is safe to say that at this time Auckland Geddes had put behind him his intellectual life as such, and remembered nothing but that he was a trained soldier, likely to be of service to his country.

On arrival in England he was appointed to a battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers, at that time and for some few years afterwards engaged in guarding a section of the Yorkshire coast. His ability soon made its mark, and he became second in command of the battalion. While he was Major Geddes he had a fall from his horse, which incapacitated him from that service on the fighting line to which he was so greatly looking forward. When he recovered, however, although still unfit for trench duty, he was sent to the front for staff training; and here again his quick comprehension and capacity for results led to early promotion, and he became Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

As an organizer he was found so effective that when the second Conscription Act was passed by Parliament the War Office brought him home to administer it, and made him a Brigadier General. Once more he did well, and when the Recruiting Department was transferred from military to civil control Geddes went with it as its head. He took the position on his own terms, namely, that he should be given entire administration of the man-power of the country, civil and military. He felt that industrial and military effort were interdependent, and that problems were easier of solution in mass than they would have been if tackled separately.

When Mr. Lloyd George appointed his new assistant to the post of Minister of

National Service, with a seat in the Cabinet, Sir Auckland had, of course, to become a Member of Parliament. A constituency was found for him, he went into the House of Commons, and—almost unheard of in Parliament history—he at once took a seat on the Front Bench with the rest of the Cabinet. Usually from ten to twenty years as a fighting private member of the House of Commons is the preface to securing a place on the Front Bench as a member of the government.

In the House of Commons

There was a good deal of curiosity as to how he would shape, because the Commons has a high standard for speakers as well as a special brand of manners, and it expects from Ministers the best the House is capable of producing. It must have been a strange experience for a man who had no previous experience in politics. He described his feelings as "quaint" when he first entered and took his seat. He had the kindly reception which is always given to new Ministers, and then the House settled down to study him and weigh him up. On the whole their verdict was favorable—which is saying a lot for a new Minister in troublous times, faced each day with professional critics.

His professorial experience stood him in good stead, for he was used to explaining matters clearly and precisely and persuasively. He had one little drawback, which still persists, and that is an occasional trace of the schoolmaster manner in the way he repeats elemental facts with a view to driving them home into the minds of his hearers. The House of Commons is a fastidious assembly. It has been, and still is, a little inclined to smile at Sir Auckland's pedagogic ways. But when this is said one has exhausted criticism of him. He won the esteem and admiration of the majority of members, not only on his own side but among opponents.

It was obvious that he was a tremendously hard worker, which is always a recommendation in the British Parliament. He was honest, manly, and lucid. He never buried difficulties, never evaded criticism, but flung the whole powers of his mind into answering and conferring with his opponents and did not descend ever to verbal tricks or skillful evasions.

A tall, clean-shaven, powerful, able man, with a suggestion in his face of Sherlock Holmes, he had a personality which impressed

itself on all who saw and heard him. A little nervous at his own surroundings at the start, he grew rapidly at home on the Treasury Bench. Not perhaps quite so agile in words as the old parliamentarian, he was frequently more convincing by reason of his very directness. Only a man of the strongest nerves as well as of physique could have stood, week after week, month after month, the effect of harassment not only of his department administration but also of the daily badgering in the Commons.

Sometimes it was one section, sometimes another. Labor was always on his track for one thing and another, while spasmodic strikes were breaking out all over the country. "You are faced with some difficulties," interrupted a Labor leader challengingly one day in debate. "Faced with them," cried Sir Auckland, "they surround me, they encircle me everywhere." Gesture emphasized his outburst. There was a fierce, almost passionate accent in his words. For one fleeting moment the Commons had a glimpse of a strong man struggling as it were with the very forces of evil. Members present had a passing thrill in the incident.

At the Board of Trade

When I went to see him at the Board of Trade I remembered that he was described as the busiest man in England. This had been given me as a sample schedule of his day:

- 9 a. m. Arrives at office. Deals with correspondence.
- 11 a. m. Cabinet Council.
- 1 p. m. Luncheon at his desk. More correspondence. Discusses policies with officials and ministers calling on him. Engaged with difficulties in bills before the House in his charge and details all bills to be brought on.
- 2 p. m. Staff conference.
- 3 p. m. Answers questions of the House of Commons.
- 4 p. m. Returns to office. Interviews callers.
- 5 p. m. Speech in Parliament.
- 6 p. m. Returns to office. More correspondence, more interviews, details of administration work. More working out of policies.
- 8 p. m. At House of Commons again. Informal Cabinet Council. Conference with Members.
- 11 p. m. Parliament rises. Goes home to bed.

It was described how on Saturdays he worked at his office until seven in the evening and returned there on Sundays. He invariably carried with him to his home

work to be accomplished in the sparse intervals between sleep and travel and meals. His only recreation was an hour or two of tennis on Sunday.

I went into the Board of Trade offices, therefore, expecting to find some hustling. I found nothing of the kind. A genial, lean, large-limbed man sat at a flat-topped desk in the middle of a room opening out on to the Thames Embankment. No papers were on his desk. With his hands clasped round his knee he was exchanging an undertoned leisurely word with his principal secretary as I entered. He looked up with a pleasant welcoming air, as though I were an old friend, instead of a stranger stealing precious minutes from one whose anxious work intrudes into his meal times.

As he made me sit down opposite to him and asked me a question or two about America, I had time to look at what kind of a man he was at close quarters. A long powerful face was lit by big shining eyes reflecting health and energy. Here was the old athlete without a doubt. Physical strength radiated from the man. That long big-boned frame told of physical reserves beyond the ordinary. There was suppleness and quickness in him too. I began to see the basis of his endurance in trying and strenuous times. In manner he was utterly unpretentious, with a ready colloquialism and a happy smile about portentous matters.

There is humor deeply inset in him, and like most real humorists he is a keen and quick judge of men—one reason why he is successful as an organizer and executive head. He talks smoothly and clearly but not too quickly, and is forming judgments all the time. Once his eyes narrowed to slits as he said a pungent word, and the next instant they were wide and full, studying me and a question I had asked with the steady microscopical way of a doctor. While I talked with him I was conscious of the strange reposefulness of the man—no hurry, no haste, certainly no hustle.

I learned from Sir Auckland that he knows America well from his many visits. Indeed he has much of the American spirit in him. He has a permanent link with the country in the fact that he found his wife there—a Miss Ross of Staten Island.

I have an impression that despite his prominence in Britain he will be happier in the New World than in the Old. He is that sort of man.

PEOPLES BANKS

A NEW ERA IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY

BY W. F. McCaleb

A PEOPLES Bank is a coöperative organization formed by a group of affiliated working people. Each member buys shares—which usually are of \$10 par value—paying for them in cash or by installments; and thereafter he is free to make deposits or to borrow from the institution for his emergency needs.

The members, or shareholders, deposit periodically their surplus funds, and the earnings of the association come from the interest paid by borrowing members, from the interest upon surplus funds which stand as balances in banking institutions, and from such investments as the association may make, under the sanction of law.

On May 31, a National Committee was organized in New York for the purpose of urging before Congress the enactment of a law authorizing the establishment of Peoples Banks. The proposed banks are to be based on American and European experience, and specially designed to meet the requirements of workers and persons now making little or no use of banking institutions. Such institutions will go a long way toward developing the field of personal credits, now so barren in America.

Personal credit is of the essence of the proposed Peoples Banks. Character is indisputably the ultimate asset on which banking credit in all ages has rested, but the small borrower, whatever his character, has almost invariably encountered difficulties in approaching the sources of credits. The fault is not with banks, but with credit mechanisms in general, which still are but poorly developed. Much remains to be done to fit them to the needs and purposes of the times.

Throughout history financial machinery has followed in the wake of economic growth. This tends to delay the progress of society. A single bit of evidence will suffice. Consider the condition of the United States prior to and after the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act. Panic after panic has swept the country from the time of the founding of our government; and at no time were the

equilibriums established until the Federal Reserve Banks opened their reservoirs of credit. But for this law we should have been helpless in the face of the recent war chaos—and we should now be wholly crippled in facing the grave reconstruction problems. The great banking system created by the Federal Reserve Act, through binding together the national banks and mobilizing their reserves, well illustrates the power of combination, of coöperation.

A Bank Founded on Personal Credit

The problem of bringing together the credit factors which lie among the masses has yet to be solved. It is true that a beginning has been made, but hardly more than a beginning. How shall this grave situation be met? It can be done only through developing a type of bank which shall function in the nearly virgin field of personal credits. This is the problem which the National Committee on Peoples Banks has undertaken to solve.

It is not proposed to build such banking institutions of thin air, but out of the proven principles of European and American banking experience. These little banks are called by various names on the continent; in Canada, they are Peoples Banks; in the United States, unfortunately, they have been called Credit Unions. But by whatever name they go, they have not failed to provide a safe place for deposits and to extend loans to the deserving. They are usually organized within a group having more or less coherence. The capital subscribed has been, as a rule, slender enough. Each shareholder, without regard to number of shares held, has equal voice in the management.

Small Operating Cost

It will be a revelation to our American public to know that a Peoples Bank, or Credit Union—of the Massachusetts or Canadian type—can be operated at a trifling cost. Usually no rent is paid; and where this is not the case, the rates are very low.

The heavy overhead charges, so serious a drain on other banking institutions, are wholly escaped. One or two clerks can carry on the necessary routine of the office. The credit and supervisory committees—composed of experienced business men who control the institution—work gratuitously. Excellent men, as a rule, give up their time to direct these Peoples Banks. A few hours a week is all that is required, and it is a high appeal to men of the right spirit, and small surprise that they willingly dedicate their services. Operating in this way, the experience of the Credit Unions of Massachusetts over a period of nine years proves that—after provision has been made against possible losses—Peoples Banks have paid satisfactory returns both to the shareholders and depositors. Failed institutions are few in number and losses have been negligible.

Transforming Millions into Capitalists

Present day banks may be said to have positive and negative sides—the positive having to do with deposits; the negative, with loans. Peoples Banks are to be more highly vitalized still, in that it is expected to develop on the positive side depositor and investor in one—to make of depositors the shareholders. In a word, it means the transformation of the millions into capitalists on a small scale. Indeed, one may not borrow of a bank unless he shall own at least one share of stock. This is of vital consideration, for the psychology of the borrower who makes use of the funds of his friends, differs greatly from that of the man who borrows of strange and formal banking institutions whose operations may even be condemned. In the first case, one borrows on character; in the second, on collateral security. That is the rule—and the cleavage is wide enough.

Furthermore, by those who have studied these banks it is maintained that high educational values will come to the shareholders through actual contact with the living organism of a bank. It will lie bare before them, and each one may learn how simple a thing it is. The mysteries which surround banking institutions, which the bankers have done little to dispel, will no longer terrify men who come to know the workings of a Peoples Bank. Not only that, but in due season many will move on into the higher ranks of depositors. Such letting in of the light can but be welcomed, and the making of thousands of new depositors can but prove most

salutary, not only for the individual and banking in general, but for the entire country as well.

Welcoming the Small Depositor

Present-day banking institutions are fundamentally incomplete, in that they have not been planned to care for the men and women who count their pennies. They have grown up under the direction of the wealthy, and as at present organized—on account of the costs of doing business—they could not survive an expansion which brought to their counters large numbers of insignificant depositors. Not only as depositors would they be unwelcome; but far less welcome would be their application for loans. It is just here that our banking mechanisms fail. The mass of mankind in America is without the pale, and it is to reach this mass that Peoples Banks have been invoked.

If foreign and American evidence is trustworthy, vast numbers of people now isolated—who have no encouragement to save—will become depositors in these new banks, thereby greatly increasing the sum total of the country's credits; new millions, now hidden, will be made available for extending our activities at home and abroad. This is not an extravagant statement, for competent authorities have estimated that there are hidden away in the pockets and homes of our people fully two billions of money.

New Capital for World Trade

The incalculable effect of pouring these additional funds into general circulation cannot be weighed, but at this stage of the world's progress it is essential that our country should mobilize as far as possible the total of its resources, and that it should develop additional types of credit machinery to deal with new conditions as they unfold. It goes without saying that our successful competition in the world's markets will materially depend on the correct functioning and interplay of all the elements in our economic life. Commerce, industry, mining, and agriculture—each must bear its part.

In this drama of life there can be no shirking and no dropping behind. We shall be stupid indeed if we, in America, fail to profit by European developments of economic appliances. For approximately a hundred years that old society has been driving ahead along lines of intensified coöperation. The organization of groups for purposes of mutual concern, in practically all walks of life,

has been for a long time the outstanding fact in the social and economic life of that continent.

As for the United States, we lag far behind in the matter of coöperative effort. Our progress has been slight for the reason that individualistic theories have so far prevailed and group action has been lost to sight. But with the breaking down of barriers by the war—social, political, and economic—it now behoves the American people to bestir themselves in the matter of appropriating, as far as may be, the machinery which has been tried out successfully in foreign countries—machinery for the mobilization of credits; machinery for the distribution of products.

Phenomenal Success Abroad

We shall here only briefly refer to the great progress made abroad in the development of two types of credit institutions, more or less related. One of these was specially designed to meet the needs of city dwellers, men associated together in factories or in groups of one sort or another; the other was dedicated to satisfying the needs of farmers, the men carrying on the rural activities of the country. It is needless to say that these two types varied somewhat in essentials, but on the whole the ends sought for were attained, and those ends were substantially of the same character. As a partial measure of their success it is stated that in 1910 there were in Europe approximately 65,000 of these credit institutions, with an annual overturn of \$7,000,000,000. That is indeed a large sum, and it was accumulated only through the mobilization of the small and widely scattered credits of the people.

The First American "Credit Union," in Massachusetts

In 1909 a most important piece of legislation was enacted in the State of Massachusetts. It was called an act relative to the "Incorporation and Management of Credit Unions." It proved to be well adapted to meet the needs for which it was drafted. Slowly but surely Credit Unions grew in Massachusetts and their influence spread to other states. In 1913 Texas copied the main features of the law, and the following year New York enacted a measure. North Carolina came soon after with an act adapted to agricultural needs. Rhode Island and half a dozen other States have passed Credit Union laws of varying degrees of perfection

—some of them hopeless in their provisions.

It is not strange that in some of the States these laws have remained dead letters, apparently buried whims of visionaries. But the progress of mankind is ever and eternally toward the vanished dreams of men. We must remember that all enterprises shorn of private gain move slowly.

It may not be amiss briefly to summarize the net results of the operations of Credit Union laws in those States where they have had attention. Beginning with Massachusetts, we find that up to October 31, 1910, there had been organized but a single Credit Union. During the following years, however, there has been a consistent growth—a growth not lightly to be estimated when it is considered that at the close of 1918 there were approximately twenty thousand shareholders controlling fifty-nine Credit Union banks with assets of nearly \$2,000,000.

Death of the "Loan Shark"

These data are not to be accepted as a true measure of success. The number of provident loans in the latter year totaled 5,897; and as indicative of the substantial service rendered society, it may be said that when the Credit Unions were first organized in Boston it was estimated that there were in that city three hundred "loan sharks." Today, there are possibly fifty. Provide the people with personal credits and the loan shark will disappear.

If men would direct their attention to attacking causes rather than attempting to regulate through repressive legislation such institutions as loan sharks, we should make progress. Committee after committee has wasted precious time in trying to devise a uniform national law regulating loan-shark institutions. Remove the causes which lend vitality to those merciless establishments, and swift decay will ensue.

A Fair Start in New York

While the Credit Union law has been in operation but a comparatively short time in the State of New York, gratifying results have been obtained. This has come about through the merit of the law. A glance at the record may prove of interest. On January 1, 1918, there were 39 Unions, with 9,667 shareholders and resources of \$465,383. The capital paid in totaled \$332,526, while deposits reached \$53,639. The borrowers numbered 5,088.

Canada's Remarkable Showing

Any discussion of Credit Unions, or Peoples Banks, would be incomplete without reference to the work of Commandeur Alphonse Desjardins. In 1900 he established in Canada his first *Caisse Populaire*, or Peoples Bank. He had been working on the project for ten years, and it was not until he had made sure of the correctness of his principles that he attempted to carry the institution beyond the limits of the City of Levis. "Now," he writes, "there are 167 such Credit Unions in the Province of Quebec alone, having total assets of about \$6,000,000. These institutions are loaning annually fully \$12,000,000. One of the banks, that of Levis, has assets of a million dollars. In the whole of Canada there are to-day more than two hundred Peoples Banks, and to date not one cent has been lost through their operations."

North Carolina Farmers' Credit Unions

It remained for North Carolina to adopt the first forward-looking program with respect to farm credits of the short-time or personal character. This was crystallized in 1915 in the form of a law. Since then there have been organized nineteen Credit Unions, and ten more are in process of formation. Writing as of May 25, 1919, William R. Camp—Chief of the Division of Markets and Rural Organization—says that during the previous year "deposits in the Credit Unions increased from \$12,192 to \$25,919; loans from \$16,899 to \$29,755; and the total resources of the Credit Unions from \$23,834 to \$44,759."

North Carolina farmers, through their Credit Unions, have undertaken a number of enterprises. For example: a Credit Union will purchase for its group a carload of fertilizer, which is then distributed according to a prearranged plan. The farmers in their turn liquidate obligations to the Union in keeping with their contracts. In this way the farmer has individually saved money, and has at the same instant worked a benefit for his neighbors. In short, he has wrought out for himself and his friends credits hitherto unappropriated.

And the fields of labor, too, lie ready for development. Indeed, the need here is only a little less crying than that of agriculture. Through pooling their resources of credits of all kinds, it would be possible for industrial groups to achieve results quite beyond their dreams. The instrumentalities must be

supplied, and then comes the great work of setting them in operation.

Perhaps nowhere has there been greater need for the development of credits than in agricultural communities. Statistics show conclusively that there has been a heavy drift from farm ownership to tenancy—an unmistakable earmark of unsatisfactory economic conditions. These conditions have been rendered nearly intolerable through the Shylock system of merchant advances of credit. It has been shown by so competent an authority as Mr. Camp that in North Carolina the rate paid to merchants for advances amounts to 38.4 per cent per annum. Indeed, the whole South has fallen victim to the vicious system, and the people have almost despaired.

How Congress Could Help

In and out of Congress many plans have been proposed to arrest the away-from-the-farm movement. These schemes have taken various forms, but latterly they have been chiefly directed toward the development of credit institutions calculated to improve farming conditions. Despite all this, substantially nothing has been achieved in a positive way, save the Federal Farm Loan Act. This measure has great merit and already has done much toward freeing the farmer from the land mortgage robber. But he needs also to be freed from the grip of the merchant; and Peoples Banks will do this.

The net of the situation, then, is that the farmer has been aided through the Farm Loan Act, providing for long-term loans; but still he needs assistance in the every-day matters of life. And since the world is ultimately indebted to him for its well-being, provision should be made to support him.

Briefly, then, we have attempted to outline the plan for Peoples Banks. It is believed that an act incorporating the principles of the Credit Unions of Massachusetts and the Peoples Banks of Canada will solve the problem of personal credits, whether of city or country. Students of finance universally acknowledge that here lies a great field for cultivation—a field thus far neglected and little explored. It is to be hoped that Congress will take up this matter seriously and give us a law which will bring universal relief to the masses of our citizenship. It is believed that action will be had when it is considered that the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal Farm Loan Act are the products of recent years.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF FARMING

BY HUGH J. HUGHES

[Mr. Hughes, whose previous articles in this REVIEW have been of great value, was for a number of years the editor of a leading farm journal in the Northwest and is at present connected with the Agricultural Department of the State Government of Minnesota. His discussion of immediate farm problems is of exceptional interest.—THE EDITOR]

THREE problems of first importance face the American farmer. These are, in the order of their relative importance (a) the high price of land, (b) the high price of labor, and (c) the high cost of equipment replacement. To these three there may be added a fourth, which, put in the form of a question, reads: Will the present high level of prices be maintained, if not absolutely, then in proportion to the falling prices of all other commodities, including labor?

It may be well to deal with the last question first. Its importance may easily be over-emphasized. At a time when unrest stirs the entire business world we are apt to lose sight of those under-currents that determine the force and the direction of the main stream of economic life. The farm produces food and clothing, and these two are at a premium today, and will continue to be at a premium tomorrow and the day after and until there is established an equilibrium between the production of these two necessities and the hungry mouths and thinly-clad backs of the world.

Population Shifting from Country to City

If there has been any appreciable check upon the movement cityward, either in this or any other country, the fact has not been made apparent. Instead, the process seems going forward faster than ever before. The congestion of unskilled labor in the cities, the rapid rising of the rental rate, and the lagging of manufacture behind its orders all mean one and the same thing—a shifting of the world's population cityward.

Already this process has gone much farther than we commonly imagine. We are credited with having about a "fifty-fifty" split between city and country in the United States. Seventy-thirty in favor of the city is a truer estimate. Until the tide turns more strongly than any present back to the land we may look for no juggling of the balance of sup-

ply and demand in favor of lower—relatively lower—prices. It is far more likely, indeed, that the city will reach its production requirements, and that certain industries of the city will first feel the effects of over-production, than that the farm will do so.

Decline in Farm Products Not Likely to Be Rapid

Each revolution in the economic world, preceding the present, has shown a rapid upward movement of labor and commodity prices, and a much more gradual decline. This decline has not been common alike to all industries. The rapid settlement of the prairies after the Civil War plunged farming into the non-profit class of industries, while steel, oil, and the factory group in general fared better. It now looks as though labor, with its demands for more money and less work, may overshoot the mark, and find itself sometime in the not far future looking about for a job. Then, if ever, the movement toward the farm will begin, but not while the city-inoculated man can stand the pressure. The very mass of the problem—or the "movement," if you choose so to call it—will require time to bring about appreciable change in balance between feeder and fed.

For these reasons, while a drop in the price of farm products is sure to come, it is extremely unlikely that it will take place to any degree disastrous to farming as a business, or that it will go forward more rapidly than the decline in other lines, considered as a whole. Demand will continue, supply will continue relatively unchanged, and on the whole price will hold reasonably well up with the demand, which latter is not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

Speculative Rise in Land Prices

But if there is not a movement landward, why the rapid rise in the price of lands, particularly in the Middle West? My observa-

tion is that this is not occasioned by any appreciable influx from the farms to the cities, but by a wholly different cause, or series of causes. The high war prices of wheat, hogs, and cattle, and the related farm products, are contributing factors. Speculation is a large element in the situation. The desire to "do it ag'in"—to sell the high-priced farm and to buy the low-priced, which in turn will become high-priced—is part of the movement.

This movement ranges all the way from normal land transfer to the wildest speculative mania, but the point I wish to make clear is that, save for a mere fractional element drawn in from the city circles, it is a movement of farmers among farms, rather than of any large mass of men outside of the farm to the farm. Increased production did not cause and does not follow the present increased selling price of farm lands. Essentially it is a promoters' boom, and corresponds to the stock-watering of the railroads of a former generation. The peak of the excitement now centers in Iowa, but all areas adjoining have been stirred to unnatural land sales at wildcat and semi-wildcat prices.

What Is Included in Better Farming?

The man loaded down with a "watered" business—and farming is most assuredly a business—has just two ways out of his difficulty. One is to adopt the philosophy of that ancient farmer, Cato, and sell to a less discerning neighbor; the other is to put the business itself on a high-speed, low-cost-of-production basis. The last holder of the land-speculative bag cannot adopt Cato's method of unloading, so he must consider the speeding-up alternative—or "go broke." Many will do the latter. Many more will attempt the plan of speeding-up. And of them a fair proportion will win.

Among us farmers this is called "better farming." It means a wide variety of things, such as the installation of cost accounting, the reduction of "overhead" by a more even distribution of labor volume throughout the year and a larger per capita labor income, the arrangement of the farm area in such manner as to cut the labor cost, and—this is perhaps most important of all these "inside" alterations in business method—the adoption of that line of farming to which the farm and the locality is best adapted by reason of soil, climate, marketing facilities, and size.

If anything can save the individual farmer

from the fate of the holder of watered stock, such farm reorganization will do it. But the problems of the farm are not individual; they are collective. The business is not individual; it is collective. One farmer, working alone, can eke out a living where five hundred farmers, joining in common production, can make an economically successful neighborhood.

Collective Production and Marketing

That collective production is essential to success in farming has long been understood, but the next step that logically follows is collective marketing. Local successes in co-operation, especially in the handling and selling of butter-fat, live-stock, and fruit, point the way to a wider organization for collective selling as logical, necessary to the economic freedom of the farmer, and in interests of both producer and consumer.

Demand for Better Distribution Facilities

But better marketing as a solution of the farmers' difficulties has, too, a physical side. Local co-operative successes will mean little unless the road to the consumer's door is kept open—unless the whole route is traveled by modern agencies of transportation and full provision is made at both ends and at the way-stations in between for an even flow that will regulate distribution to the timely needs of the consumer. One of the most serious car shortages of recent years was caused by the lack of proper storage place for wheat along the Atlantic seaboard, and the impressment of thousands of cars badly needed for transportation into service as temporary grain bins. The thought that suggests itself is that grain elevators at seaboard terminals are a prerequisite to the efficient distribution of farm products. Similar inadequacies in the equipment of distribution occur all along the line of agricultural production, and account, in part, for low prices to the producer and high prices to the consumer.

The problem of the over-capitalized farm is to be met, if at all, by a program calling for (a) better farm organization, (b) intelligent co-operation in producing and in selling, (c) a better physical system of distribution.

The Appalling Cost of Farm Labor

The high price of labor is worrying the farmer. It is taking his hired men away

to the factories. It is luring his boys to the lathe and the bench. It is raising hob with his old-time notions of the proper wage and length of day. Five to eight dollars a day for harvest help, and from \$60 to \$110 a month "and found" for men for the season gives the Grain Belt farmer visions of a sudden and disastrous ending of all his labors. And even at these wages the amount and the quality of farm labor is on the decline.

What the average farmer does not see is that the factories and mills and mines of the nation are calling with an appeal that the better-class day or month laborer cannot resist. This appeal is not wholly one of money. Shorter hours and the attractions of city life are powerful forces that pull men away from the farm.

Small Versus Large Farms

Various remedies for this condition are suggested—and are being applied. The one most often heard discussed is that of cutting down the farm business to a one-man basis, not, as a rule, by splitting up the farm, but by adopting a system of farming that will call for less labor—in other words, for a less intensive plan of operation. This, be it observed, is exactly counter to the business system essential to make the highly-capitalized farm pay. Another plan is that already mentioned—the better business management of the farm. This plan involves the use of increased farm labor, and, by so doing, brings about conditions on the farm not unlike those in the factory, in so far as the hours of labor and the association together of a number of men is concerned.

Both these plans have their advocates, and each may safely be followed in individual instances. The choice turns largely upon the executive capacity of the man at the head. Viewed as social tendencies, two opposite goals are in view; the one that of a nation of small farms operated by small farmers, banded together co-operatively as are the farmers of Holland and Denmark; the other a nation of factory-farms, organized, controlled, and run by large capital, banded together after the fashion of the business interests of the present day.

Personal independence, a widely-distributed land ownership, well-kept schools all seem to belong with the small farm, while it must be admitted that low cost of production and the best possible economic use of land, equipment, and labor go with the large, capitalized, efficiently managed farm. And

it must be granted that the over-capitalization already mentioned works powerfully toward the centralization of farms into these large factory units.

The Problem of Equipment

The cost of equipment replacement is one that seems to cause the farmer considerable anxiety. Reasonably so. If prices are to fall, and everybody assumes that they will, he must pay for high-priced teams, tractors, machinery, barns, silos, fences and the like with lower-price live stock, live-stock products, and grain. The danger is more apparent than real. Such equipment is necessary to the largest possible production from his acres; it is an alternate, in many instances, for a hired labor cost item that eats up and carries away with it a very considerable part of the gross farm income. By increasing labor efficiency and land efficiency, money invested in buildings, machinery, and the general equipment of the farm, including in equipment live stock, is money that compounds rapidly.

Henry Wallace found that the farmers of the plains of Hungary, considered the best farmers in Europe from the standpoint of production, were one-sixth as efficient, man for man, as the farmers of Iowa, the best producers in America. And the boasted greater efficiency of the European acre makes up but a small part of this significant spread. It is the gang-plow, the tractor, the eight-foot binder and similar machinery that gives the American farmer his leadership in agricultural production. It would be a serious mistake for him, at this critical time in the current-setting of world business, were he to hesitate, and allow his equipment, upon which depends so largely the full operative power of his acres and his men, to become insufficient for its tasks.

The Farmer Is Going Forward!

Such is not likely to be the case. The American farmer, especially of the younger generation, is mechanically inclined. In spite of doubts as to the immediate future he is going ahead with the building of better barns and silos, and the stocking of his pastures with the best obtainable live stock. He is seriously setting himself to the task of reorganizing his farming business along recognized lines of business efficiency, and he is everywhere struggling with a highly vexatious labor problem. He is meeting the present competitive and wasteful system of dis-

tribution with coöperative organization, and he is beginning to study the wider problems involved in worldwide distribution and demand.

What the farmer wants the consumer to see, and to see so clearly that he will admit the logic of the situation, is that farming has its problems the successful solution of which call for prices for his farm products that shall cover the necessary costs of produc-

tion, including interest on the investment; present-day wages for those employed on the farm, including the owner and his family; and in addition a sinking fund sufficient to cover replacement charges and to provide for the steady expansion of the business to meet the consumptive demands of the day.

And for those who insist that the farmer is a profiteer he has this answer and cordial invitation: Buy or rent a farm and go to it!

THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

BY PAYSON J. TREAT

(Professor of History, Stanford University, California)

AFTER six years of comparative quiet the agitation against the Japanese in California has again swept over the State, gaining a popular support which was lacking in the earlier movements. Before 1913 the agitation was largely confined to San Francisco and was based upon labor conditions there. In that year a protest against Japanese ownership of land was voiced in some of the farming districts, which resulted in the Alien Land Law, denying the right to own agricultural land or to lease it for more than three years to "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 had apparently removed the danger of a mass immigration of Japanese laborers, and the Alien Land Law of 1913 made it difficult for the resident Japanese to obtain land. Therefore the pressing problems seemed to have been settled, and the Japanese question was rarely mentioned between 1913 and 1919.

The present discussion is concerned with the old problems of immigration, land ownership, and naturalization, and it is based on the assumption that the Japanese, as well as all other Orientals, are "unassimilable." But it is important to note that many elements of the population which did not support the earlier measures, are in sympathy with this new movement. It is no longer possible to dismiss the agitation as a political demonstration, although politics played a prominent part in developing the issue. Too many organizations have now gone on record in favor of drastic measures against the Japanese "problem," for one to ignore them. This general antipathy, among sections of

the public which were not directly affected by the presence of the Japanese settlers, must be ascribed to the distrust aroused by the almost universal criticism of the conduct of Japanese officials and people in China, Korea and Siberia. The innocent Japanese in California are paying the price for their government's alleged errors.

An analysis of the resolutions which have been passed by many public and private organizations in California discloses four grounds for anti-Japanese legislation. It is generally believed that Japanese are entering the State in large numbers, hence resolutions demand the abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement" and the enactment of an exclusion law. It is also generally believed that Japanese are acquiring agricultural land in spite of the Alien Land Law of 1913, and this is to be met by a more drastic law which will stop the use of dummy corporations and forbid the leasing of land to unqualified aliens for any length of time.

Furthermore, it is evident that the Japanese residents have been favored with large families, and the fear has arisen lest the native-born Japanese, at some future time, outnumber the white inhabitants. To prevent this, a demand has been made that the admission of the Japanese "picture brides" be suspended. And most recent of all the measures, and most amazing to an American of the old-school, is the proposal to amend the Federal Constitution so that citizenship cannot be acquired by the native-born children of aliens themselves ineligible to citizenship. This would serve to prevent native-born Japanese from securing land.

All these things are believed by a large number of Westerners, and the remedial measures have their support. Yet it becomes evident, after a little investigation, that many of the conclusions are based upon flimsy evidence. In spite of the charges that the Japanese Government has repeatedly broken the "gentlemen's agreement" it would be extremely difficult to prove such a breach in a single case. The agreement of 1907, which has operated very satisfactorily, was to the effect that the United States would not pass an exclusion law against Japanese laborers so long as Japan refused to give such emigrants passports to the United States. No Japanese can enter our ports without a passport. If any attempt to cross the border clandestinely it is the duty of our Immigration Service to apprehend them—it is not the fault of the Japanese Government.

The figures for Japanese immigration must be understood and not merely accepted. The number of arrivals must be checked with the annual departures. At the present time "immigrants" include all classes of arrivals. Before the Great War the departures generally exceeded the arrivals in a given year. Since 1914 there has been an increase in "immigrants," due to the presence of Japanese merchants, tourists, officials, and students, many of whom would have travelled to Europe under normal conditions. The 10,312 Japanese who entered this country in 1918 were almost all transients of a very superior type. It is difficult to understand how anyone who has studied the actual operation of the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan and the Chinese Exclusion Laws can believe the latter afford a superior method of regulating alien immigration. Theodore Roosevelt used to say that "nations as well as individuals should act like gentlemen." Would it not be well to respect the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan until it is plainly shown to be ineffective?

One of the desirable features of such an agreement is the ease with which it may be amended to suit new conditions. In one respect the agreement should probably now be altered and such a change may be sought through the proper channels, in Washington and not in California. This change would forbid the entrance of "picture brides." These are Japanese women who are married to Japanese residents in America. The ceremony includes an exchange of pictures, hence the popular name used in this country. These marriages are quite in ac-

cord with Japanese custom and law, and the brides have no difficulty in securing passports to join their husbands in America. But the custom has always lent itself to misinterpretation among our people and although it has served a useful social purpose it now seems as if it was doing more harm than good, through the criticism which it has aroused. The Japanese Association of America has realized this danger, and has instructed its members not to arrange for "picture" marriages in the future. It is very probable that the Japanese Government would promptly meet any formal request to alter the "gentlemen's agreement" in this particular.

The immigration of laborers or of "picture brides" are questions which must be dealt with by the Federal Government. But the use or ownership of land is a matter for State control, subject always to any treaty obligations. Japanese resentment because of the Alien Land Law of 1913 was due to the discrimination involved, not to the economic disability imposed. No alien can own land in Japan, so no Japanese could object to a general law against alien land ownership in California. But when the right to own land is denied to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" it emphasizes the discrimination not only of the State but of the Federal naturalization law.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the Alien Land Law of 1913, some Japanese, Chinese and East Indians have acquired land in California. No statistics are available, and thus the amount of land involved has become a matter of controversy. The statement is frequently made that "the Japanese are acquiring the choicest lands in the State." On the other hand the cultivated acreage of the State is estimated at about 28,000,000 acres, and the amount owned by Japanese in 1918 was estimated at 29,000 acres. The latter amount has probably been somewhat increased to date, but it is doubtful if the total would be relatively large. That the Japanese farmers have done much to develop unused areas in the State, generally under lease, goes without saying. The objection to their presence on the land is primarily based upon the charge that they are "unassimilable." This is a charge which cannot be established one way or another. But certainly it will not be easy for the Japanese to demonstrate their assimilability so long as they are discriminated against in political, economic and social relations.

This belief in the inability of the Japanese and other Orientals to become assimilated has led to the remarkable proposal that the native-born children of "aliens ineligible to citizenship" be denied citizenship. Such a proposal will require an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and many resolutions demanding this step have been passed. On the one hand we are in the midst of a campaign for Americanization, and on the other a strong force is being exerted to deny American privileges to some of our native-born. This seems to be a peculiarly short-sighted measure.

The most promising way out of the problems arising from the presence of Oriental peoples in our country, seems to be to restrict immigration, and to see to it that the children of the aliens within our gates grow up as good American citizens. Mr. Roosevelt, in 1906, went further and proposed to Congress that the Japanese residents be granted the privilege of naturalization. But the place where the proposed measure would have the most serious effect is the Hawaiian Islands. More than half the population consists of "aliens ineligible to citizenship" or their native-born children. The Japanese alone number over 40 per cent. In the near future the native-born Orientals will certainly control the politics of the Territory. If they are treated fairly and given equal opportunities they will grow up to be loyal

citizens of the United States. If they are denied the rights of our native-born we will have in Hawaii an increasing mass of subject peoples who, denied justice by the United States, will look to their kinsmen in the East for help. The Hawaiian situation contains much that requires careful consideration, but if history teaches us anything it should help us avoid the creation of a Poland, an Alsace or a Korea within our limits.

There are a number of problems arising from the presence of Oriental aliens in our Pacific Coast states. They are difficult problems which should only be handled after impartial investigation and, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of friction." In refusing to call a special session of the State Legislature to deal with the Japanese problem, Governor Stephens, of California, said: "No one disputes the sovereign right of this state to enact all domestic legislation which its welfare dictates. At the same time, in this crisis, when the passions of all peoples are almost at the breaking point, it would be folly to intensify our national difficulties. In a calmer time, when these questions shall have been disposed of, when we ourselves shall be equipped with definite information and can act wisely, the problems of the Japanese in our California life is one that should yield readily to the legislative genius of our people."

AN AMERICAN IN SHANTUNG

[The following communication comes from an American who has lived in China for thirty years, was for eighteen months in Tientain and Peking during the war, and has since been in Tsinanfu and elsewhere in Shantung. He read in the September REVIEW our abstract of the article by Kong Siang Ko which originally appeared in the *Revue Mondiale*, of Paris, and found in it certain statements and inferences from which he dissents. We reproduce those parts of his letter which seem to have special pertinence to the Shantung discussion. This writer admits that individual Japanese have been guilty of various indiscretions in Shantung, but holds that unwarranted inferences have been drawn as to the general injury to Chinese interests—THE EDITOR]

FIRST of all, take the inferences as to Shantung itself. The effort is to make the impression that the sovereignty of the province is affected. There are no facts to support such an inference. Germany had a leasehold on something less than 200 square miles of territory surrounding the port of Tsingtau, owned and controlled the Esingtau-Tsinanfu Railway and the mines within ten kilometers of the railway on either side. The Chinese control of the

province was in no way affected. The same is true now. The Germans reserved the right to employ Germans exclusively in administering the Chinese maritime custom house. The Japanese do the same thing, but Mr. Kong makes it appear that the Maritime Customs are taken over and administered as a part of the Japanese Government revenue. Such is not the case. Chinese Maritime Customs at all posts are administered by Europeans in the employ of

the Chinese Government because there has not been found in the Chinese sufficient administrative honesty to make it possible to care for their own customs revenue. The Port of Tsingtau is still a part of the Chinese Maritime Customs administration, manned by Japanese incumbents, just as under the Germans.

No political right of the Chinese is interfered with in Shantung. There are Japanese post offices at the various railway stations and also telegraph offices for the convenience of the railway and its employees and anyone else who wishes to go to the railway stations and take advantage of them. At the same time the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway gives to the Chinese post office under contract a compartment on all its trains for the carrying of mail to all points, and in no way whatever interferes with the administration of the Chinese post in the province of Shantung. But for this railway the Chinese post offices would be dependent on overland messengers, as it is everywhere else.

Mr. Kong complains that the Chinese are injured by the exploiting of the mines along the line of the railway. What are the facts? They control the mines within ten kilometers of the railway and these mines have all been developed by the Germans and not by the Chinese at all! Some small mines outside this ten-kilometer limit which were run by Chinese briefly by hand labor have been bought by the Japanese, because the owners of these mines were willing to accept the high prices offered by the Japanese. But there is absolutely nothing to hinder Chinese from developing other mines, save the want of honest and effective administration.

Mr. Kong declares with great fervor that he and his forty million Shantung compatriots will never submit to Japanese domination! What are the facts? All this wealth and opportunity which he so deprecates as being withheld from his "suffering compatriots" went for nothing till the Germans came and developed it. There is nothing whatever now, except the want of enterprise and administrative honesty, to prevent the Chinese of Shantung from building a most urgently needed railway from the Port of Chefoo to Tsinanfu and tapping the whole of this wealth which he complains of the Japanese wresting from them. If Mr. Kong would devote himself to the task of persuading his forty million compatriots whose birthright is being filched from them, to do

this much-needed and very practicable bit of constructive work the whole of the economic situation of Shantung would be in their hands:

Mr. Kong might say that the Japanese would not allow the Chinese to build this railway. The only contingency in the whole situation was that in case of the building of other railways in Shantung the Chinese Government was to give the Germans the first opportunity of supplying the engineers and the materials and money. The Japanese would either be obliged to do these things or keep hands off and let the Chinese get these in the best market. What the Japanese would do and have done is to buy the Chinese who would have the influence, to block the way of building such a road.

The real difficulty in the whole scheme is that the Chinese officials haven't the administrative honesty to preserve their own interests. Take their own railways, like the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, which runs through this same Shantung province from north to south. What happens? The "likin," the interprovincial duties and squeezes, the military usurpations of cars and materials, the want of honest administration, makes this road of practically little value in the transfer of merchandise. This road traverses excellent coal fields, and has connections in the north with Tientsin and in the south with Shanghai. An excellent coal mine, which was operated for local uses before the railway was built, finds it impossible to market its coal either in Shanghai or Tientsin because of the inefficient management of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. There is a mine of excellent coal within thirty miles of Mr. Kong's ancestral home, and within two miles of the track of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, and sixty miles nearer to Tsinanfu by the Tientsin-Pukow Railway than the Japanese mines on the Tsinanfu-Tsingtau Railway, and yet Tsinanfu is supplied by the Japanese mines! Here is ample scope for all the energies of Mr. Kong within twenty miles of his own home. The reason why the Chefoo-Tsinanfu Railway is not built is that all concerned know that it would be ridden by a horde of greedy parasites which would sap the life of it and make it of no effect.

Mr. Kong says: "The population is suffering from a foreign persecution. Their property is expropriated almost without indemnity. Homes are forcibly requisitioned. Personal insults, even actual outrages, are

numberless. Chinese officials are contumuously ignored. And this condition the Peace Conference would make permanent." I have lived in Shantung for the best part of thirty years. Seven years of this time were spent in Tsingtau under German occupation; two years of it have been spent at various points on the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway under Japanese occupation, and I do not hesitate to declare the above an unwarranted statement. That the Japanese have been and are obnoxious and overbearing in their administration of the Port of Tsingtau and the Tsingtau-Tsinanfu Railway, I admit. That the Japanese are going to the very limit of all that the German concessions allowed them, that they are straining these and that they would like to dominate Shantung and any other part of China that they can get control of, I believe the evidence is ample to prove, but there is no part of the situation which a reasonable display of enterprise and administrative honesty on the part of the Chinese would not easily cope with.

Mr. Kong refers to the Chinese labor which "as soon as possible was offered and accepted, and which materially aided in the triumphant result." He is speaking of the "British Emigration Agency," which procured and sent to France the Chinese coolies for the service of the British Army. What are the facts as to that? Mr. Kong, unless he is more ignorant than he would like to admit, knows that not only were these coolies not offered, but the Chinese Government and officials opposed the scheme, and official proclamations are now in the British archives forbidding Chinese laborers to offer themselves or accept service! It was only by placing the recruiting stations on Japanese-controlled ground contiguous to the Tsing-

tau-Tsinanfu Railway stations that it was possible to obtain these coolies at all. After the lapse of some months the active opposition was overcome, but it was never more than merely tolerated, and it is only since the war was over, or at least the armistice signed, that it was possible to appeal to Chinese officials for the correction of any illegalities which should come under Chinese jurisdiction.

The charge of importation of opium and morphine is probably well founded, but that has no bearing on the question. That has been done much more largely through the Port of Tientsin than through Tsingtau, and it is done because the connivance of the Chinese makes it possible.

As to Mr. Tong's article, quoted from *Millard's Review*, the matter of the secret treaty of Great Britain and France with Japan was unfortunate as giving the Chinese some point of departure, but has no distinct bearing on the attitude of the Chinese themselves, which is the all-important thing.

To sum it up, the ills from which they are suffering are vastly exaggerated, and the remedy is easily in their own hands. In addition, they are the result of their own ineptitude and double dealing. If the Chinese will make some honest efforts to set their own homes in order and establish some degree of administrative honesty and control, the helping them out of their difficulties will be a very simple matter. Until such a condition is reached all this frantic appeal on the ground of their supposed injustices suffered is confusing and utterly misleading. It is all done for a purpose. One of the men intimately concerned with the propaganda said to me that the thing he wished most to see was Japan and America at war! "A word to the wise."

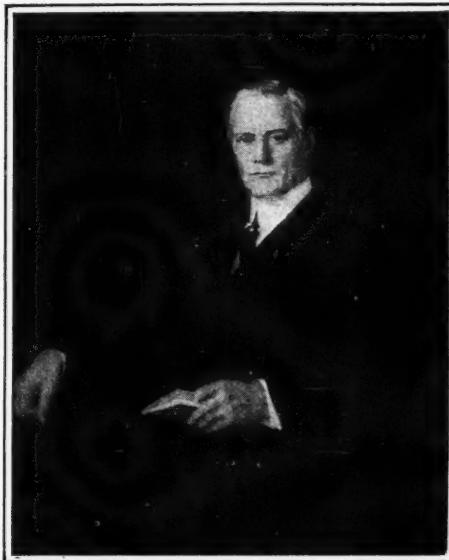


BEVERIDGE'S "MARSHALL"

"THE Life of John Marshall" by Albert J. Beveridge, which is now completed in four volumes, is difficult to characterize in a few sentences, because it is an achievement of almost unrivaled importance from several different standpoints. It is winning praise in language that runs to superlatives of enthusiasm; and this praise comes from the most competent historical scholars and the best qualified students of law and government. As a work of literary skill, of industry and research, and of sustained intellectual power, the Life of Marshall is a dazzling success.

Mr. Beveridge had carried in his mind the conception of this work for many years. Its more definite outlines had gradually developed as the preliminary work had progressed. When a masterpiece of any kind is actually produced, the genius that created it and the patience and toil that brought it to fruition are often undervalued by the less experienced and discerning, for the very reason that the result has been to make difficult things clear and simple. The creator of such a work brings certain qualifications of his own that limit the conception and determine the result. But for the peculiar qualifications of the author of this great historical biography, not only would the conception have been different, but the actual outcome from the standpoint of the reader would probably have borne no resemblance at all to the irresistibly fascinating volumes that Mr. Beveridge has produced.

We have jurists and law professors competent to give us a new exposition of the meaning of Marshall's great decisions as Chief Justice. The place and work of the Supreme Court in the shaping of our constitutional history has, indeed, never been so well set forth as in the third and fourth volumes of Beveridge's Life of Marshall. But this great theme has not been ignored, and it has other masters. We have in recent years developed and trained a group of historical experts who have studied manuscripts and correspondence and have given us a large body of revised and accurate material by means of which to study the period of American history that Mr. Beveridge surveys. The author of the Life of Marshall



HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
(From the portrait by August Franzen)

gratefully availed himself of all this material, and secured the personal aid of the historical experts and custodians of manuscripts and archives.

In accepting their help and in learning to use their methods of research, Mr. Beveridge has made himself a master of their tools and a highly accredited historical authority. There are others who have retold the story of Aaron Burr's adventures; and many other stories of American politics from Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson have been recast by able pens. With the aid of historical experts, some other writer of industry could have given us a new biography of John Marshall, and could have resurrected the personality of the great Chief Justice, to entertain a generation which had lost the human picture of one of the country's greatest historical personages. But Beveridge has so blended biography, history, politics, and legal lore as to produce an incomparable work.

Americans had always retained conceptions, whether accurate or not, of the individualities of Franklin, Jefferson, and Hamilton; while Jackson, Webster, and Clay had come down in American tradition as living

and breathing personages. But Marshall had come to be a mere abstraction—a name by which to designate a series of lucid, wholly impersonal dissertations on Government, issued from the highest tribunal of the country through a period of years.

It would, then, have been possible to write a biography merely humanizing Marshall; and how this could be done was admirably shown by Mr. Beveridge himself in his first two volumes, which appeared in 1916. In those vivid pages there was pictured for us the life of colonial Virginia, and Marshall was made real to us as a young soldier in the Revolution, a law student, a follower of Washington and a Federalist in politics, a supporter of the Constitution in its period of formation and adoption, and a rapidly advancing leader who became Secretary of War and finally Secretary of State in the latter part of the Administration of John Adams.

The control of the Government in the election of the year 1800 had swung from the Federalists to the Democrats (or Republicans, as they preferred to be called) and Thomas Jefferson had been elected. Just before the end of his term, in March, 1801, President Adams had appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Beveridge's first two volumes had brought the story of his hero up to this moment. Marshall was destined to hold the office of Chief Justice for thirty-five years. Thomas Jefferson was destined to be the greatest party leader and the foremost personal influence in politics of any man in our history. Jefferson represented one point of view regarding our constitutional development, while Marshall represented the opposing point of view. Every student of American political and constitutional history has known this attitude of Jefferson's, as he expounded his doctrine of State rights through a series of exciting episodes. In like manner, all intelligent readers have known that Marshall expounded the supremacy of the Constitution and stood for Nationalism as against Localism.

But Mr. Beveridge, without straining any of the facts of history for the sake of stage effects, has told us the story of Marshall and Jefferson in a wholly new way, that creates breathless interest. He has dramatized, as it were, the struggle for and against the doctrines of "implied powers," and of federal supremacy as upheld through the authority of the United States courts. Jefferson and Marshall were cousins, and were

life-long antagonists. Marshall, who was naturally conservative, wholly disapproved of the great radical; while Jefferson hated Marshall with peculiar malignity. Mr. Beveridge is too thorough a student to surrender to the obvious temptation to overplay the contrast. John Marshall is the hero of his four volumes, and he succeeds to the very end in keeping the reader sympathetic and convinced as regards the worth, the dignity, and the historical greatness of his leading character. But he remembers that he is writing history, not fiction. It was his business to reveal Jefferson only as concerned with the matters in which Marshall's participation was essential.

Marshall was not a great scholar in the law like his younger colleague and associate, Justice Story, but he was an unsurpassed reasoner and interpreter. Mr. Beveridge finds a strong resemblance between John Marshall and Abraham Lincoln. Marshall was finishing his eightieth year when he died in 1835. He had been almost three decades and a half on the bench. His most important decisions are taken up one by one, and explained for the intelligent citizen as well as for the lawyer. No student of American law and government can henceforth escape the reading of this interpretation of our formative period.

Mr. Beveridge had himself been through the experiences of a young lawyer and public speaker. His own family had gone West from Fauquier County, Virginia, which was John Marshall's birthplace and home. He had served twelve years in the United States Senate from Indiana, beginning this period at the moment of our expansion of national interests following the war with Spain. It was his own experience in law, politics, government, and affairs which made it possible to discover the human aspects of the legal and constitutional struggles that are set forth in his third and fourth volumes.

Having rendered brilliant service in the Senate, Beveridge lost his seat in the party dissensions which brought the Democrats into power seven years ago. His retirement from office gave him the leisure and opportunity to write a work which has absorbed his energies for fully half a dozen years. When he returns to public life, it will be with enhanced prestige, and with a greater power than ever before to perceive and to interpret the more permanent tendencies in our national life.—A. S.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A BRITISH VIEW OF THE SENATE'S TREATY RESERVATIONS

THE attitude of the United States Senate towards the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations is the subject of two important editorial articles in the London *Spectator* for November 22. The first of these articles, entitled "America's Reservations," begins with the assertion that there is no party and no opinion in America hostile to the League in itself:

The farthest that the most extreme opponents of the League go is to insist that, though the Treaty may be all right for Europe and may suit European temperaments, it is not suited to America or the American Constitution. The most hot-headed of anti-Wilsonian Senators has never dreamt of throwing obstacles in the way of the European nations combining to prevent another war so fatal to human society as that which has just ended.

In the present confused situation the *Spectator* reminds the British public that America is always inclined to be like the man in the Gospel who said, "I go not," and went. To illustrate this national trait, the editor recalls America's attitude at the beginning of the Great War, when both President and people declared that the war was not America's business and that strict neutrality must be maintained.

But though America had said so distinctly that she would not go, she went; and, as is her way, when she did act it was with a self-abandonment, an unselfishness, and a generosity to which the history of international relations affords no parallel. America threw herself into the contest without a reservation, without a thought of what she was to gain as a nation. She played no huckster's part. She could have had any terms she liked from those whom she made her Allies, if not in name, in high deeds. With a magnificence of purpose which, if the world at large does not yet completely understand it, has always been understood here by her own flesh and blood, she nobly refused to make Europe's agony her opportunity even for reasonable demands. She spent not only

her blood but what it is often even more difficult for nations to do, her treasure, without stint or limit. The idea of making terms for the salvation of the world never crossed the mind of her people. They were too proud to bargain. Curiously enough, the same thing often happens in American business. During the preliminaries of a business arrangement an old-fashioned English firm seems to find the American hard, unyielding, even grasping in his methods and unwilling to allow any give-and-take. Yet when the preliminaries are over and it comes to action, the other side is amazed at the trustfulness, the easy generosity, with which the American will carry on. There is nothing guarded, nothing of the half-measure, nothing paltry, in American action.

By way of further explanation of the Senate's attitude the editor of the *Spectator* reminds his readers that an error was committed by President Wilson, "unconsciously, no doubt, but none the less unfortunately," when he failed to associate with himself at the Peace Conference the leaders of the Republican party. "As an example of how much easier it is for lookers-on to see the game than the players," the editor recalls the fact of his own astonishment at the construction of the American delegation:

It seemed to us quite obvious that what Mr. Wilson would do would be to say to Mr. Taft, ex-President, and so ex-chief of the Republican party; to Mr. Root, not only the greatest Republican jurist but the greatest jurist in America; and to Senator Lodge, a man of life-long experience in foreign affairs and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate: "Whatever our old antagonisms, and whatever your personal distrust of a Democratic President, you three gentlemen must come with me to Paris and help me in the negotiations. Under our Constitution it is useless for me to attempt to bind America unless you acquiesce and so I can, not merely in name but in fact, put the Treaty before Congress as the joint work of the Democratic and Republican parties. You gave me the double mandate for the war. You must give it me also for the peace. But you cannot give it for the peace unless you



OLD RHYME—NEW REASON

Who killed Cock Robin?
 "I," said Senator Lodge;
 It was my little dodge!
 I killed Cock Robin!"

Who saw him die?
 "I," said the Fly;
 "It does make me cry!
 I saw him die!"

Who'll toll the bell?
 "I," said John Bull;
 "I'll give it a pull!
 I'll toll the bell!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)

share my responsibility at the Peace Conference and take an active part in the negotiations." If President Wilson had said that, the three statesmen we have named could not have refused, and the President would have brought back from Paris a treaty which, though not in essence very different from that now before the Senate, would have gone through Congress on a practically unanimous vote. To say this is not to rake up an old fault or to cry over spilt milk. Before the Senate is condemned for what has happened during the past week in Washington, Englishmen and Americans must remember, and give weight to, President Wilson's unfortunate blunder in the region of internal and party diplomacy. The association of the Republican leaders in his great task would not really have tied his hands, and would have given America the proud position of being the driver and not, as now, the brakesman of the great international train.

The *Spectator* is not without hope that at the last moment a compromise may be reached at Washington which will show to the rest of the world that America has no intention of repudiating the Treaty. But if no such compromise is reached, and the

worst comes to the worst, the editor harbors no doubt as to what should be done. The wise thing, the necessary thing, he says, "is not to abandon the League in a fit of anger or despondency, but to maintain it, and to allow America, owing to her very special circumstances, geographical and constitutional, to put in as many reservations as she likes."

Though there is no clause to this effect, it seems to the *Spectator* that it must have always been understood during the deliberations at the Peace Conference that each state that accepted the League accepted it in effect "subject to the particular provisions of the constitution of each constituent state." The *Spectator*, in fact, refuses to admit that the specific reservations of the Senate matter very much, except that they must be regarded as indicating national intentions. In the *Spectator's* view all that the Senate's reservations grant to America in particular are granted in general by the provisions of the League's constitution, by which every member of the Council has a veto on the actions of the League.

In the editor's opinion the real danger from the Senate's action consists in the fact that other nations, great and small, may make the American reservations an excuse for abandoning the League:

In all probability the American Senators do not fully realize the enormous dynamic force which America now exercises in the European world. It is not too much to say that if the Senate had passed the Treaty without reservation, no European state would have dared to consider the possibility of breaking away. With America apparently only hanging loose on the League, all the Michiavellis, petty and great, of Europe are inclined to say: "Why should we tie our hands if America won't tie hers? Let us be as free as she is."¹⁹ If that evil counsel were to prevail, Europe would indeed be in deadly peril. Whether the Americans are able to help us at the moment or not, the rest of the great powers, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, and such smaller states as they can influence, must go forward with the League. We detest the idea of exposing ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in such a matter as this, but the truth must be spoken even at the risk of being thought sensational. If the League of Nations were to be abandoned, the world would be exposed to dangers greater than it has ever before encountered.

On only one point does the writer conceive that serious damage has already been done by the Senate. He does not believe that the reservations in regard to Article X kill the League, but in his opinion the real trouble is found in the Senate refusal to agree to the limitation of armaments:

Here is the crux. If America will not agree to this limitation, it is to be feared that many of the small states will follow her example, for we can hardly say to them, though it is the truth: "America is far more likely to let her armaments go to seed than any other country in the world, and therefore she can safely be allowed the luxury of

insisting on this reservation. You cannot." If we were not able to do something to limit armaments and to prevent the old deadly competition, how is it possible that Europe should ever heal her wounds? The mitigation of armaments, though admittedly the most difficult point under the League, is also that of most practical importance.

THE TRIAL OF THE FORMER KAISER

IT was the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, who presided over the "Commission on Responsibilities" charged by the Peace Conference with the consideration of the action that should be taken in regard to individuals responsible for the war and for violation of the laws and customs of war. This fact gives added weight to the article on the trial of the Kaiser contributed by Mr. Lansing to the December number of the *Forum*.

It will be recalled by those among our readers who followed the proceedings of the Peace Conference from day to day that this Commission upon Responsibilities consisted of fifteen members, two named by each of the following powers: the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the one member each for Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia. Mr. Lansing's American colleague was Dr. James Brown Scott. Sir Gordon Hewart, the Attorney General of England, and Sir Ernest Pollock, Solicitor General, alternated with each other as head of the British delegation.

Mr. Lansing states that it was apparent at the very beginning of the sessions of the commission that certain members were determined before everything else to bring the Kaiser to trial for a criminal offense before an international high tribunal of justice, to be constituted for the purpose primarily of determining his guilt and imposing upon him a suitable penalty for his crimes. There were three charges that could be urged against him, namely, that he was responsible for the war, that he was responsible for the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, and that he was chargeable with the flagrant violations of the laws and customs of war perpetrated by the armed forces of Germany.

The commission proceeded to examine the question from other points of view, and to consider the arguments for and against his trial. But in the end it was unanimously de-

cided that a report could not be made charging the Kaiser with legal criminality for beginning the war or for invading Belgium and Luxemburg. It was recognized, says Mr. Lansing, that he had committed a great moral crime, an unpardonable offense against humanity, but the commission was forced to find that there was no positive law declaring acts such as he had committed to be criminal and imposing a penalty on the perpetrator. The decision was reached with reluctance because of the firm conviction that the German ruler was guilty, although his guilt was not of a nature which could be declared and punished by a judicial tribunal.

The commission found that the acts which brought about the war should not be charged against their authors or made the subject of proceedings before a tribunal. It decided that, under the special head of the breeches of neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium, "the gravity of these outrages upon the principles of the law of nations and upon international good faith is such that they should be made the subject of a formal condemnation by the Conference." The commission further declared that it would be right for the Peace Conference in a matter so unprecedented to adopt special measures and "even to create a special organ in order to deal as they deserve with the authors of such acts."

As to the third charge, regarding "violations of the laws and customs of war," the commission concluded that all persons belonging to enemy countries, including chiefs of states, who have been guilty of such offenses are liable to criminal prosecution. The American members of the commission dissented from this conclusion. They declared that the law to which the head of a state is responsible is the law of his country, not the law of a foreign country or group of countries, that the tribunal to which he is responsible is the tribunal of his country, and

that the punishment to be inflicted is the punishment prescribed by the law in force at the time of the act, not a punishment created after the act. These observations, however, were not intended, in the opinion of the American representatives, to apply to what may be called political sanctions. "These are matters for statesmen, not for judges, and it is for them to determine whether or not the violators of the treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg should be subjected to a political sanction."

Secretary Lansing directs particular attention to this last sentence because, as he says, the distinction between political sanction and judicial sanction determines the right to impose a penalty on the head of a foreign state.

The scheme proposed by the commission for the creation of a high international court of criminal jurisdiction did not receive the full approval of the American representatives, although they conceded for the sake of reaching an agreement the possible expediency of an international commission to pass upon the military crimes affecting more than one country, because, as Secretary Lansing states, "though it was not directly in accord with their idea of mixed courts-martial, it did not contradict the principle."

The American representatives did, however, oppose the extension of jurisdiction of such a tribunal on "offenses against the laws of humanity," as was recommended in the report, first, on the ground that the submission to the Commission on Responsibilities by the Conference was limited in terms to offenses against the laws and customs of war, and second, because the laws of humanity do not constitute a fixed code with judicial penalties, which can be applied through a fixed process. The decision finally reached by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Governments is contained in Articles 227 and 230 of the Peace Treaty. Article 227 arraigns the former German Emperor "for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," and provides that a special tribunal to try him shall be constituted, composed of five judges appointed, respectively, by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. It also declares that the tribunal in its decision "will be guided by the highest motives of international policy," and "shall fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed."

Commenting on this proviso of the Peace

Treaty, Secretary Lansing assumes that the tribunal thus created is not a court of legal justice, but rather an instrument of political power which is to consider the case from the viewpoint of high policy, and to fix a penalty accordingly. He quotes as follows from the reply to the observations of the German peace delegates on this subject:

They (that is, the council) wish to make it clear that the public arraignment under Article 227 framed against the German ex-Emperor has not a judicial character as regards its substance, but only in its form. The ex-Emperor is arraigned as a matter of high international policy as the minimum of what is demanded for a supreme offense against international morality, the sanctity of treaties and the essential rules of justice.

Mr. Lansing points out that this course of procedure was in accordance with the suggestion made in the American memorandum that there might be a political sanction, but no judicial sanction, for the offense of having caused the war and violating the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg.

In concluding his article Mr. Lansing thus sums up the motives that actuated the American members of the Commission on Responsibilities:

It was by no means an easy task to deal with the question of expressing properly mankind's condemnation of the individual whose inordinate vanity and greed were chiefly responsible for the dreadful waste and misery which the world has endured and from the effects of which it will suffer for many years to come. It was difficult to subordinate the natural feeling of indignation and instinct to do vengeance to a cold, dispassionate consideration of the character of the Kaiser's acts and their relation to law and justice. Yet one of the reasons that our country entered the war was to bring lawlessness to an end. We believed that an undeviating respect for law is essential to the prosperity and happiness of society and that the rigid maintenance of the law, however distasteful it may be, is an imperative duty.

It was with a determination to follow these precepts, to treat impersonally and judicially the submission of the Conference, and to avoid being influenced by our own desires or by the pressure of public sentiment that we performed our duties as the American members of the Commission on Responsibilities and filed our reservations to the report of the Commission.

Former Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, the venerable Professor of Law of Yale University, comments in the *Yale Law Journal* for November on the proposed trial of the former Kaiser. He unreservedly confirms the position of the American representatives as stated by Secretary Lansing.

GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

AN important article in the October number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, by Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, of Munich, is summarized in the London *Review of Reviews*. The article, to which the editor of the *Jahrbücher*, Professor Delbrück, has appended numerous notes of protest and argument, is entitled "On the Question of German Guilt for the World War." The writer begins with a statement that he has never doubted that general conditions in the world were partly to blame for the war, but that the chief guilt fell upon Germany.

For fifty years there was no people in the world that, in spite of the peaceableness of broad masses of its population, so loudly and with so much conviction glorified the law of brute force in politics (literally "world political fist-law") and by its sabre-rattling and discourteous behaviour so continually isolated itself and thus brought against itself the world of the remainder of the civilized world—as the German people. Let one merely recall the incredibly brutal and short-sighted naval agitation of the nineties by which the Ger-

man middle classes, under the leadership of Friedrich Naumann, were brought over into the camp of aggressive *Weltpolitik* . . .

It was not until both Hague Conferences through the fault of the German Government and of German intellectuals, who could not find enough scorn for what they called "peace-dizziness," had been finally sabotaged, to such an extent that in the rest of the Conference there was only one opinion, one of indignation, concerning the rude language of the German representatives—it was not until then that the "isolation" (*Einkreisung*) of Germany began, and then not in the sense of a war of offense, but of political and military security against the intentions which it was feared were harbored by the Germans. For it was the behaviour of the Germans at the Hague that spread through the world the conviction that Germany was not willing to tolerate the prevailing situation of the nations, because she hoped to acquire by force more than she could have obtained on the basis of international public law.

Professor Förster, says his reviewer, has always played the part of the candid friend to both the German and the Austrian Governments.

AN AMERICAN ON BOLSHEVISM

PERHAPS no writer has had a better opportunity to observe the workings of Bolshevism outside of Russia than Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, who contributed the arti-

cle on Austria to the December number of this Review. As an official of the American Relief Administration under Mr. Herbert Hoover, Dr. Taylor was brought into inti-



VIENNESE CHILDREN, THINLY CLAD AND POORLY NOURISHED, FACING A COLD WINTER
(Clothing for these children may be sent to Mrs. Albert Halstead, care of Schenker & Co., Rotterdam, Holland)



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THE SPARTACIDE REVOLUTION IN VIENNA
(Crowd listening to revolutionary speeches outside the City Hall)

mate contact with conditions of unrest, both political and economic, in Central Europe during the greater part of 1919. In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for December 6th, Dr. Taylor gives "Views of a Layman on Bolshevism."

The revolutions in Russia and Central Europe during the last two years have at least brought about the destruction of feudalism, and in Dr. Taylor's opinion, this is their prime achievement. In Germany and the eastern Baltic states traces of feudalism still remain, it is true, but in those countries the revolution failed of full success.

On the other hand, socialism of the type that was known before the war is practically obsolete. To use Dr. Taylor's expression, it has passed through insolvency into bankruptcy. Germany was the land of its great-

est development, and all that remains of it there is a series of political programs. Communism, according to Dr. Taylor, is in almost as low an estate, although it has not yet been declared bankrupt by its adherents. Russian Sovietism stands for a theory of government that, in Dr. Taylor's opinion, has never been properly tried out, either before the Russian Revolution or since that time. The great majority of the Russian people fully believe in a Soviet form of government, and it has also taken a deep hold throughout Central Europe and Germany. The original theory of the Soviet is quite a different thing from the Russian Sovietism of to-day. During the past year Teutonic socialism has been completely eclipsed by Latin syndicalism. These, in brief, are some of the conclusions reached by an observant American in the zone of Central Europe's most acute distress.

SOCIALISM'S PRESENT STATUS IN AMERICA

TIMELY information regarding the reconstruction of the Socialist movement in the United States is furnished by Dr. Gordon S. Watkins, of the Department of Economics at the University of Illinois, in an article contributed by him to the Decem-

ber *Atlantic*. As he states at the outset of his article, each of the Socialist groups which met in convention at Chicago during the first week of September committed itself definitely to a distinct party with a specific program of action. The Socialist Labor Party is allied

with the Workers' International Industrial Union, or Detroit I. W. W. The three other divisions of American Socialist forces are the Socialist Party of the Extreme Right, the Communist Labor Party of the Center Left, and the Communist Party of the Extreme Left.

Little can be said as to the numerical strength of these several parties. The realignment of forces is very recent and not every group has yet found its place. One estimate gives the Socialist Party a membership of not more than 39,000, the Communist Labor Party not more than 10,000, and the Communist Party a membership of 60,000, of whom one-half belong to the Foreign Language Federations which are predominantly Russian. Another official estimate makes the Communist Labor Party very much larger and the Communist Party correspondingly smaller. Little dependence can be placed, apparently, on either of these sets of figures.

As to personnel, the Socialist Party is still under the leadership of Adolph Germer, Victor Berger, Seymour Stedman, Morris Hillquit, and James Oneal. The Communist Labor Party is headed by well-known radicals—A. C. Wagenknecht, John Reed, John Carney, William Bross Lloyd, and Ben Gitlow—while the Communist Party, known as the American Bolsheviks, is led by such extremists as C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis C. Frayna, Isaac E. Ferguson and Karl Brodsky.

Dr. Watkins is convinced that the recent division in American Socialistic forces was due to differing views as to the most expeditious method of destroying modern capital-

ism. Regarding the necessity of overthrowing the present era the three parties are in perfect agreement. The chief point of discrimination, especially between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party is the attitude of each group toward parliamentary action. The conservative Right Wing is favorably disposed toward parliamentary participation and opportunistic social reforms. The Extreme Left, on the other hand, repudiates parliamentary action in bourgeois states as reactionary compromise. The only use that it has for parliamentary participation is for propaganda purposes. Its final reliance is placed on mass action and revolutionary efforts through a general industrial organization employing the general strike.

Another important difference is revealed in the attitudes of the Socialist and Communist parties toward the church and religion. The former holds religion to be a private matter and has looked upon the church with indifference, an attitude also manifested by the I. W. W. The Communist Party, however, interprets religion as a social phenomenon and explains the church in the light of the materialistic conception of history—an institution that 'befuddles the minds of the masses, and defends the capitalistic order.' The three Socialist groups agree in the condemnation of trade-unionism, in the endorsement of the general industrial union, and in the enlistment of the negro in the class-struggle.

Dr. Watkins thinks it quite probable that American socialism will soon be divided into two major parties, the Socialist Party absorbing all the moderates and the Communist Party the revolutionaries. He finds an unmistakable tendency toward revolutionary doctrines and Bolshevik philosophy, and signs are not lacking of a "concerted revolutionary attack upon the economic and political foundations of the present era of society."

SOCIALISM AND INVENTION

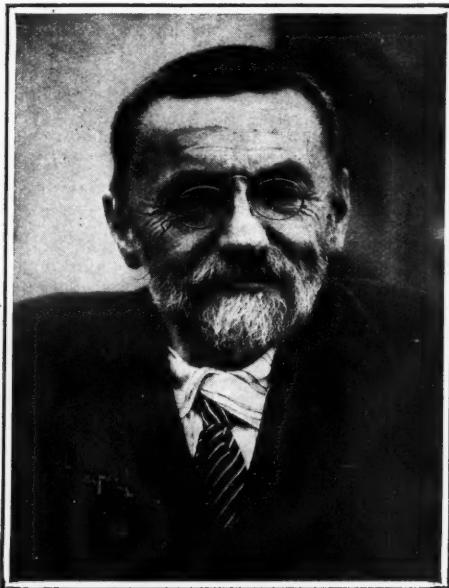
A SOCIALISTIC view of invention as a condition of our modern scientific and industrial civilization is presented in the *Socialist Review* (New York) for December by Charles P. Steinmetz, the consulting engineer of the General Electric Company at Schenectady. Mr. Steinmetz divides inventions into three groups:

(1) Fundamental or basic inventions which create new fields for human effort, or even a new era in the world's history, such as the invention of the steam engine, steamship and locomotive; of the cotton gin, which created the cotton industry, of the alternating current transformer, which made modern electrical development possible.

(2) Inventions which are merely steps in the design and development of things, such as a new form of gear shift in the automobile, or a new way of winding an electric motor.

(3) Incidental or accidental inventions, such as a new puzzle, which strikes the popular fancy.

The second group represents by far the greater number of inventions annually patented in the United States. While these inventions are not revolutionary and are usually not considered in the layman's discussion of inventions and inventors, Mr. Steinmetz points out that in their bulk they represent the industrial progress of the country. Most of these inventions are the work of engineers,



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CHARLES P. STEINMETZ

designers, or constructors, employed by industrial corporations. To a great extent such inventions and the patents covering them are owned by the company rather than by the inventor himself. As Mr. Steinmetz shows, there is much justification for this arrangement. The problem which the engineer solved by his invention has in most instances been brought before him by his work for the company. The company, too, has made available the data and information that enabled him to solve the problem and has supplied the means to develop the invention.

Mr. Steinmetz finds that corporation engineers working under arrangements by which their compensation from the company covers the products of their knowledge as well as their original and inventive skill, are on the average more prolific and useful inventors than the independent engineers. Yet the incentive of direct individual profit is wholly lacking. Mr. Steinmetz argues, therefore, that the socialization of society, if it should take place, would in no way decrease this numerous and important class of inventions. Organized society would simply take the place of the industrial corporation.

Mr. Steinmetz then considers the question whether the first group of inventions, those of a radical or basic character, would be seriously interfered with in a socialistic state by the withdrawal of the possibility of vast financial profit. As to the question whether

modern capitalistic society holds out great financial rewards for the inventor, he says:

I know of no great inventor who has become very rich. Edison is very well to do, but far less due to his inventions than to his sharing in the industrial exploitation of them, and a small part of his genius and intellect, in the pursuit of Wall Street activities, might have made him a multi-millionaire. There is rather more truth in the statement—though wildly exaggerated—that most of the great inventors die in the poor-house.

A fundamental or basic invention, representing a new idea, the first step in a new field, necessarily is crude, and inferior to the improvements which are made later on the idea, after the path has been broken by the basic invention. As a matter of fact, every inventor being entitled to his invention, neither more nor less, the original inventor is not entitled to the improvements made by others, and without them, his invention is of lesser industrial value. The inventors of the improvements cannot use them, as they are not entitled to the original invention. To the inventor, his invention is of no value unless it is applied. He can rarely apply it himself, having neither the means nor the mental ability to develop its industrial production. Thus he depends on the established industry to take up his invention. The industry however has got along without the invention, does not need it as a necessity, but merely as an improvement, or an advantage. Thus in the relation between the inventor and the industry, the advantages are against the inventor.

There is another feature, which the inventor rarely realizes.

Between the invention, as conceived, tried and patented, and the successful industrial product, there is a wide gap, the industrial development of the article often involving a vast amount of work and great expenditure. Thus, for instance, in the development of the steam turbine, now the most powerful and most efficient source of power, millions of dollars, and years of work had to be expended, from the time that the completed and patented invention was turned over to the manufacturers, until the manufacture was financially successful. And that latter period sometimes never arrives. Thus in the industrial development of the invention of the Nernst lamp, a vast amount of engineering ability, energy and many years of work were expended and when it just began to be successful, the tungsten lamp came, with its superior efficiency, and drove it out of existence.

Thus the great financial rewards awaiting the inventor in present-day society are an idle dream. The reward of the inventor is reputation and fame, and the satisfaction of his accomplishment—rewards which will remain and be greater still under socialism—but financially the reward of the inventor is inferior to that of the successful stock-broker or promoter.

Since in a socialistic society there would be no special interests opposing the inventor's fullest recognition, the realization that a successful invention would make the inventor a national hero, would, in Mr. Steinmetz's opinion, be an incentive far greater than anything present-day society has to offer.

PRICES AND INCOMES IN GERMANY DURING THE WAR

THE following interesting presentation of economic conditions in Germany during the war is from the pen of Rudolph Rettig, of Dresden; and originally appeared in the *Roter Tag*. This translation of the article was made by Dr. Victor Clark for the *American Economic Review*:

The outcome of the world war forces us to consider the tremendous economic blunders committed at that time. There is little doubt that economic mismanagement, especially during the last two years, contributed directly to the political overthrow and did untold harm to the national cause. It is for this reason of supreme importance that we should study closely the relation of prices

and incomes, or, in other words, the economic readjustments between the different classes of the population. For this reason a number of investigations along the lines indicated below should be undertaken at once. They do not confirm the common impression that high wages are the reason of our present economic distress. At least that is the inference for the period prior to the revolution. We learn that prices have risen far above the measure justified by the increase in the cost of production and consequently profits were made that led to a very unjust distribution of the burdens of the war among the different classes of the people.

The relative percentages of the following items of costs and profits of a specific industrial establishment illustrate what I mean:

Items	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
Wages	28.49	33.85	34.	29.57	23.95	16.87
Waste in operation	18.13	19.78	21.33	25.23	22.26	26.30
Losses in business transactions	7.23	7.53	9.10	7.64	6.74	4.97
Porto (postage)	.41	.42	.53	.41	.36	.22
Construction and repairs	5.64	3.12	1.99	.83	1.48	2.47
Taxes and contributions	2.18	2.45	2.85	2.76	2.79	2.76
Interest	.82	1.48	1.73	2.83	.92	
Depreciation	22.32	18.21	13.52	15.01	17.70	14.77
Total	85.22	86.84	85.05	84.28	76.20	68.36
Net profits	14.78	13.16	14.95	15.72	23.80	31.54
Dividends	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	6.	6.	5.	6.	12.	25.

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Almost without exception it will be shown that wages in proportion to every 100 marks in value of products actually declined between 1914 and 1917, while profits rose remarkably. We must add to this that wholesalers and retailers not only collected the same percentages of profits during the war that they were accustomed to make during peace, but almost invariably increased that percentage. The result was that the income of the entrepreneur class not only increased, but did

so relatively to the higher prices, to the detriment of the other classes of society, including wage-earners. It is a fundamental error to ascribe high prices to the high wages of employees during the war. As the example quoted shows, the economic status of the working people who were employed during the war, and who received nominally high incomes, deteriorated rapidly. Consequently, it is very easy to see that these economic conditions would especially oppress families of men engaged in the war and civil servants.

GERMANY'S BALTIC POLICY

AN article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for October 10th takes as its text the speech by Noske on the note by the Entente, and deals with the whole question of the Entente and Germany and their policy in connection with the Baltic provinces. The following extract gives the gist of the writer's arguments:

A settlement of the Baltic situation naturally requires time. But one thing is clear, namely, that a considerable part of the troops, under the bad

influence of their leaders, will refuse to return to Germany, but will as mercenaries enter the service of the Russian reactionaries. We must pity these men; they have been deceived. The Fatherland has become insufficient for them. They were promised land in Lettland, and now that that hope has been destroyed they are being promised the possibility of settling on Russian soil. If their attitude is thus to a certain extent explicable, it does not the less place the country in a most dangerous position. Altogether inexplicable is the action of the men's officers who have the necessary intelligence to recognize the seriousness of

the situation. . . . Intervention (on the part of the government) is essential, and we are glad to hear Herr Noske's declarations on the subject.

Further south, in the region of Danzig, it is important to note that the Germans have avowedly taken steps to secure their national cultural solidarity against the time when the separation from the Fatherland

shall be brought about. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* for September 25th announced that one single German organization, compromising all the political parties, was about to be formed on the sole basis of Germanization, and for the purpose of asserting German rights. This project subsequently came to a practical issue.

ITALIAN CENSURE OF D'ANNUNZIO'S PROCEEDINGS AT FIUME

THE Italian agitation in regard to Fiume and Dalmatia is treated in a very moderate and reasonable spirit by a writer in *Rassegna Nazionale*. He is quite ready to admit that D'Annunzio's expedition has been animated by ideal motives, although there are not wanting those who hold that it partakes of the nature of an anti-ministerial maneuver, but he regards it as blameworthy for two principal reasons:

First, on account of the bad breach of discipline committed by a part of the Italian forces—an insubordination in which officers of high rank, both in the army and in the navy, have participated, while those generals or admirals who were charged with the re-establishment of discipline have neither shown the prestige nor the capacity to fulfill their task. Had the poet's enterprise been accomplished by a handful of volunteers, Italy would still have had to deplore the assumption, by a body of turbulent citizens, of a matter that required the deliberate and official control of the government, but at least the repute and the discipline of the army would have remained intact.

The second, and perhaps the gravest objection, is that no group of politicians, or of improvised leaders, can with impunity undertake to determine the national policy, and, profiting by the supposed adhesion or acquiescence of the nation, taken by surprise and stirred up by a rather fictitious patriotism, seek to direct according to their fancy the foreign policy of that nation. This would force Italy to resort to odious and bloody repressions at home, or else to assume before the other nations with which she is bound by solemn engagements, the sorry figure of some little Balkan state, or the humiliating part of a nation unable to control the impulse to treat these engagements like the too-famous "scrap of paper."

The writer does not think it correct to say that in this particular case Italy has to do with an uncontrollable impulse in favor of the self-determination and the nationality of a people, for if this were so the same principle should be followed even where the result is not in Italy's favor, as with the Brenner pass and the greater part of Dalmatia. Otherwise all territorial questions in the regions of mixed nationalities would be entirely at the mercy of *coups-de-main* and pronunciamientos, leading to constant convulsions and devastations.

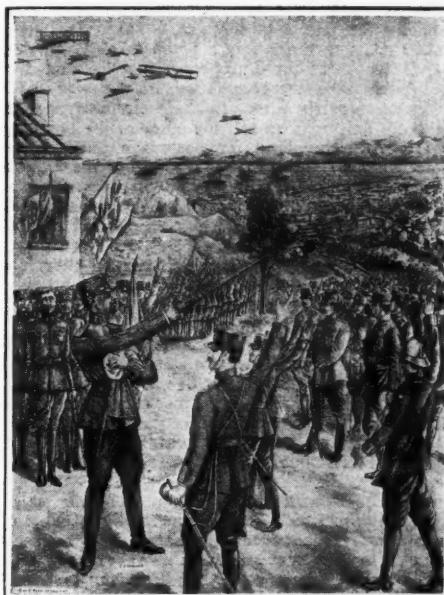
Acting on such principles regarding Italian claims, any agitator might to-morrow occupy Malta, Nice, or Corsica, or the Swiss canton Ticino, and embroil Italy with half of Europe. The nation might as well cast aside all governmental control, all parliaments and constitutions, and allow itself to be ruled by the first D'Annunzio who sprang up, or worse still, by the first military leader who pleased to install himself as generalissimo or dictator.

Turning from these general considerations to the special enterprise of Fiume, the Italian writer deeply regrets that the pacificatory mission entrusted to General Badoglio should have proved a failure, that his appeal to the regular troops to return to normal authority, under the penalty of being otherwise treated as deserters, should in the main have fallen on deaf ears. He thinks that some attempt should be made to remedy the still graver insubordination in the navy, the serious acts of desertion from some of the warships while they were anchored in the port of Fiume, for the present situation is quite intolerable as regards the reputation of the government, of the nation, and of the navy.

What has exceeded all measure, so much so indeed as to overshoot the mark, is the tone of D'Annunzio's proclamations to the

Venetians, to the Lombards, to the inhabitants of Trieste, and even to the Italian army, proclamations in which he has not hesitated to call up the flames of insurrection in support of his enterprise. This is the more unwise in view of the fact that the whole question is a most delicate one. Italy has not yet secured the qualified consent of France, or that of England, in favor of the recognition of Italian sovereignty over the city of Fiume, with the exception of its part, which is to be placed under the control of the expected League of Nations, for the whole matter still depends upon the dubious consent of President Wilson, who has personally committed himself to the contrary view, and who will certainly not allow himself to be influenced by D'Annunzio's actions or propaganda.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the problem of Fiume is complicated with others of not lesser importance, such as the recognition of Italian interests in the Orient and in the colonies, as well as with Italy's serious economic and financial difficulties, just now especially acute and the subject of much parliamentary debate.



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A POSTER CIRCULATED IN AMERICA TO
EXTOL D'ANNUNZIO'S HEROISM

PRICE-FIXING AS A REMEDY FOR PROFITEERING

THE governments of many countries have recently been asked to adopt systems of price-fixing in order to prevent profiteering. The attempt to meet this demand has not been generally successful. State officials are likely in the attempt to satisfy public opinion to fix prices so low as to discourage capital from embarking in production.

The Hon. Charles G. Wade, K.C., Agent-General for New South Wales, cites the experience of the various Australian governments in regard to price-fixing in an important article in the *Fortnightly Review* (London). He believes that this danger of causing under-production is so great that it can be avoided only by the state assuming control and ownership of the means of production, distribution and, exchange.

Can such a system be successfully managed in a modern democratic community? Mr. Wade points out that if the state becomes the universal employer, its duties as the

protector of the consumers against high prices must inevitably clash with the demands of its multitudinous employees for higher wages. And what ministry could weather such a test? He regards the record of these experiments in New South Wales during the war, as a hopeless failure.

It was in New South Wales that the first attempt was made to regulate the prices of necessary commodities in Australia. This policy was launched before a scarcity from the pressure of war conditions had arisen, and was the outcome of high wages and consequent high prices. The workers put forward a demand for the limitation of the cost of commodities, whilst they were to be permitted to receive higher wages. The government yielded, and the test was first made in respect to butter. A period of dry weather in the dairy districts, which affected the pastures, had led to a reduction in the production of cream and an increase—consequent upon the scarcity—in the price of butter. The rise in the selling price was not, in fact, serious, but in response to a demand made by the public the government appointed a commission, who took power by statute to fix the price of any commodity, necessary for the support of man

or beast; and, *inter alia*, a maximum price was fixed for the sale of butter.

At that time there was a prospect of large demands for meat for European countries and for the Allies who were engaged in the war, and prices were fairly firm. In these circumstances it paid the dairyman to sell his cows to the butcher, and to lease his land for pasture purposes to those who desired to fatten stock for the export trade. In a short time the threatened scarcity became a reality; there was no help obtainable locally, for the adjoining states were unable and unwilling to place their produce on the New South Wales market at a figure which yielded them no profit. At this stage even the removal of price limitation could not secure redress, as the product was no longer being manufactured.

The only alternative, therefore, in response to the continued demand, was to import the commodity from overseas. In due course shipments of butter arrived purchased in America, but it was found that the cost per pound of the imported article, after paying freight and charges, was in excess of the maximum price previously declared for local sales. The government were, in consequence, faced with the dilemma of selling at a higher figure which was commercially profitable (and thereby acknowledging that their previously declared maximum price was a mistake) or to sell at the fixed price and ask the taxpayer to make good the consequent loss: they adopted the latter course.

This experience was repeated shortly after with regard to wheat. The dry season had affected the crops, and it appeared possible that importation from outside sources might be necessary to meet local requirements. There was also a danger of prices of bread rising in consequence of the reduced supply of flour. Here, again, the Commission stepped in and fixed a maximum selling price. The farmer found that it was more profitable to

convert his growing crops into hay than to allow them to be harvested for the miller. Those, again, who held stocks were suspected of withholding them until the restrictions should be removed and prices should rise again; but so far as the public were concerned, the old story was repeated—an actual scarcity in the state was established; importations from adjoining states were discouraged by the insufficiency of the declared selling price; and the government were again compelled to resort to importations from overseas to meet the urgent food requirements of the community. Large consignments of wheat subsequently arrived, but it was found that the cost of the commodity landed in New South Wales was per unit in excess of the fixed maximum local selling price, and the state suffered a heavy loss in selling at the figure previously decreed.

An attempt to control the price of hay produced like results. Later on, when the stress of war conditions pressed upon the people, a limitation of prices was imposed in respect of many commodities by both federal and state governments.

But Mr. Wade is by no means hopeless. He opposes the fixing of prices, but he believes that effective machinery can be devised for controlling the profiteers. With its vast experience of costing, acquired during the war, the government is in a position to check any charges of profiteering that are brought to its notice. Mr. Wade contends that, if drastic powers are given to the government to examine the accounts of firms which are accused of profiteering, and if they are authorized to inflict severe penalties, the results will be far-reaching.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND'S WOMEN WAR WORKERS

ALREADY the demobilization of the various corps of war British workers is in full swing, and has in some cases been completed. What is to be the future of these hundreds of thousands of women who, having found profitable work and acquired a totally new outlook on life during the war are now discharged from employment and left to keep themselves as best they can? Miss Rose M. Bradley in the *Nineteenth Century* (London: November) discusses the many aspects of the problem and describes the measures that have been organised already to assist them in finding new employment.

The future of the flapper is not the least of the questions with which reconstruction has to deal;

more especially if she left school with a half-finished education in the early days of the war, to work in a munitions factory or to act as juvenile typist or messenger in a government office. In this case she may now find herself in a blind alley, no longer wanted where she is too old to be trained for another trade. The Board of Education is doing all that is possible to improve her prospects by the establishment of continuation schools and compulsory classes for those in receipt of unemployment pay. But, to the average girl, the life has been demoralizing in its superficial freedom. She is little inclined to submit herself to masters and mistresses, and it is with reluctance that she will lower her social prestige by returning to her natural sphere of shop-assistant, or, still worse in her eyes, of domestic servant.

Far more difficult, however, at the other end of the pole, is the position of the educated woman who, five years ago, had probably not contemplated the necessity of working for her living at all. On the outbreak of war, anxious to do her

share, she perhaps had herself trained as a motor-driver, became an administrator in one of the services, a welfare supervisor, or learnt to work on the land, or in a government office. During these years she has possibly lost one or more of the male relatives who contributed to her maintenance—husband, brother, father, or the man to whom she was to have been married. In any case, she can no longer live upon her own reduced means and belonging, as she does, to a class which, having a fixed income, has been most acutely affected by the rise in the cost of living, she is unwilling to be a burden on the family exchequer. If she is still young and sufficiently qualified, the educational world no doubt offers her the best prospects. But for the average woman of her class, careers which do not involve a long and expensive training are still limited. On the other hand, in the changed conditions of social life, she may probably not think it derogatory, if she has the experience, to take a post as lady nurse or lady cook, for both of whom there is an ample demand.

For a good many women, the idea of emigration as offering an outlet for their energies, and fresh scope in a new country for the practical training and experience they have recently acquired is attractive. To the suitable ex-service woman the Government Overseas Settlement Committee is offering special facilities in this direction on the same lines as those granted to the ex-service man. But these, after all, are a drop in the ocean, and it remains to be seen in which of the Dominions they will be assured a welcome and find desirable openings.

Immediately after the Armistice a large number of semi-skilled women workers, who had been employed in certain branches of munitions, wireless telegraphy, aeroplane works, etc., were told that their services were no longer needed, and many were given one week's wages in lieu of notice. A large proportion of these women had literally no homes to return to.

The Heads of the Training Section who were responsible for these girls have done their utmost

to find them fresh employment, and, as the months have passed, they have not been unsuccessful. Those who were formerly in domestic service have been persuaded, in quite appreciable numbers, to return to it, and those who had husbands and homes with sufficient means of support were strongly urged to go back to them. This is, in substance, the advice given to all the demobilized women by their superior officers. Return to former occupations when possible, but do not let the claims of home, and family, especially in the case of married women, be lightly tampered with.

But what exactly is women's work? Domestic service offered a wide field for employment; and a serious effort was made, under Lady Londonderry's leadership, so to raise the status of domestic service as to make it appeal to these ex-service women. The Women's Legion Household Service section has met with a small but increasing measure of success, and other bureaus run by different branches of the services appear to be making progress on similar lines. But the chief need is to find other forms of employment for women, and Lady Rhondda's Women's Industrial League has worked hard to secure equal opportunities for employment in all occupations suitable to women, while insisting upon the principle of equal pay for equal output. There is a movement to try and substitute women for men in many employments which should naturally be feminine; and Miss Bradley pleads for a great united effort by men and women, to allow women to supplement men in a number of trades and occupations for which they are specially fitted, and in which there is no question of direct competition for the same employments.

THE DURATION OF LIFE

A PARADOX often adverted to is that science, which has done so much toward promoting good health in the human race, has failed to increase materially the duration of human life. On an average, it is true, people live longer than they used to; but the limit of longevity is about the same as it was in the remote past. Despite all the splendid achievements of medicine and surgery, we still grow old and we still die. Must this always be true? No dogmatic answer can yet be given to this intensely interesting question, but facts are rapidly coming to light that bear upon it.

Perhaps there is no other place in the world where so much is being learned about the *rationale* of life and death as at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, in New York City. We therefore listen eagerly to one of the leaders of that establishment, Dr. Jacques Loeb, who writes on "Natural Death and the Duration of Life" in the *Scientific Monthly*.

Both life and death are chemical processes, and the abrupt chemical change involved in the latter is due to the permanent cessation of respiration. Dr. Loeb says in regard to this all-important phenomenon:

We know that this result can be brought about by mechanical violence, by poison, and by disease, and, since nobody can escape all these agencies, doubts have arisen whether we do not all die from injury or disease, and whether such a thing as natural death really exists. If there were no natural death it should be possible to prolong life indefinitely if a complete protection against disease and accidents could be secured. It is impossible to make such an experiment in a human being, since our intestine and our respiratory tract can not be kept free from microorganisms. The problem has, however, been solved for certain insects. A Russian author, Bogdanow, invented a method of obtaining the common housefly free from all microorganisms, by putting the newly laid eggs for a number of minutes into a solution of bichloride of mercury of sufficient concentration. Most eggs were killed in the process, but some survived and these were free from microorganisms at their surface. By keeping the eggs on sterilized meat and in sterile flasks, the maggots leaving the egg could find their food and develop into flies. A French author, Guyénot, continuing the experiments on the fruit fly, raised 80 successive aseptic generations, and Northrop and the writer have raised thus far 87 aseptic successive generations of the fruit fly on aseptic yeast.

In these experiments all possibility of infection, all chances of accidental or violent death were excluded. To make sure that these flies are absolutely free from microorganisms, their dead bodies are transferred to culture media such as are used for the growth of bacteria. If a common fruit fly is put on such a culture medium, in twenty-four hours a rapid growth of microorganisms develops, while the culture medium on which our aseptic flies were put remained free from all growth for years (or rather permanently). Aseptic fruit flies, free from infectious disease and supplied with proper food will, therefore, not escape death. These experiments, then, indicate that higher organisms must die from internal causes even if all chance of infection and all accidents are excluded.

These facts gave rise to the idea that the natural duration of life might be merely the time required for the completion of a chemical reaction, or a series of chemical reactions, involving the accumulation of toxic substances in the body, or the destruction of substances capable of keeping it in youthful vigor, or both. Modern physical chemistry has shown that the time required to complete a chemical reaction is diminished with an increase in temperature, and *vice versa*. Can we, then, prolong life by lowering the temperature at which life processes go forward?

Elaborate experiments were made by Loeb and Northrop on aseptic flies, the result of which was that "the duration of life of such flies was a definite one for each temperature, which means that all the flies died at practically the same age when kept at the same temperature." By lowering their temperature 20 degrees Centigrade, the average duration of their lives was prolonged by 900

per cent. Unfortunately this process cannot be applied to human beings, who have normally a constant body temperature, whereas the temperature of insects is practically that of their environment.

If it were possible to reduce the temperature of human beings and if the influence of temperature on the duration of life were the same as that in the fruit fly, a reduction of our temperature from 37.5 to about 16° would lengthen the duration of our life to that of Methusaleh; and if we could keep the temperature of our blood permanently at 7.5° C., our average life would (on the same assumption) be lengthened from three score and ten to about twenty-seven times that length, *i.e.*, to about nineteen hundred years. Unfortunately our body does not tolerate any considerable lowering of its temperature and if it did, life at so low a temperature would probably become very monotonous and uninteresting since in all probability sensations of pleasure as well as pain, joy and of sadness, would be at a very low level.

The experiments on aseptic flies therefore lend support to the idea that the duration of our life is the time required for the completion of a chemical reaction or a series of chemical reactions.

Analogous experiments upon the lower animals shed light on the question of why we grow old.

While in human beings there is no sharp limit between youth and maturity, in many insects and amphibians this limit is marked by a sudden metamorphosis in the shape of their body. The frog hatches from the egg as a tadpole without legs and with a long tail. After a certain length of time legs begin to grow, the tail disappears, the form of the head and mouth change, the skin looks different, and the tadpole is transformed into a frog. It is possible that some of the changes underlying metamorphosis are due to changes in the circulation of the blood.

Gudernatsch made the remarkable discovery that this metamorphosis, which in our climate usually occurs during the third or fourth month of the life of the tadpole, can be brought about at will even in the youngest tadpoles, by feeding them with thyroid gland, no matter from which animal. By feeding very young tadpoles with this substance, frogs not larger than a fly could be produced. Allen added the observation that if a young tadpole is deprived of its thyroid gland, it is unable ever to become a frog; and that it remains a tadpole which can reach, however, a long life and continue to grow beyond the usual size of the tadpole. When, however, such superannuated tadpoles are fed with thyroid they promptly undergo metamorphosis.

The thyroid gland stores up the traces of iodine taken with food. The experiments above described, and others made on salamanders, seem to indicate that the duration of the tadpole stage (corresponding to "youth" in mankind) is the time required to store up the necessary amount of certain compounds, one of which contains iodine. On the other hand the change of fruit flies from the larval

to the chrysalis state is not accelerated by feeding thyroid to them; but experiments, which the writer describes, show that it is accelerated or retarded by changes of temperature, just as the total duration of life in these insects is controlled by temperature.

Experiments by Uhlenhuth on the influence of temperature on metamorphosis in salamanders have shown that it is similar to that observed in flies. Salamanders kept at 25° metamorphosed when they were eleven weeks old, while salamanders kept at 15°, under otherwise identical conditions, metamorphosed when they were twenty-two weeks old. All these data suggest the possibility that the duration of life and the duration of the larval period or of youth are in

reality times required for the completion of definite chemical reactions. The cessation of respiration leading to the termination of life and the alterations in circulation leading to metamorphosis or termination of youth are critical points; and it seems possible that these points are reached when a certain toxic substance is formed in adequate quantity in the body, or when a necessary substance is destroyed or sufficiently diminished in quantity, or when both conditions are fulfilled.

We can prolong or shorten the period of youth in amphibians not only by modifying the temperature but by withdrawing or offering the specific substance which causes metamorphosis, namely iodine or thyroid material. There is no end to the substances capable of hastening death. Shall we ever find a substance which will prolong the duration of life? At present we can neither deny nor affirm the possibility.

EINSTEIN'S THEORY OF RELATIVITY

THE action of the Royal Society at its meeting in London on November 6, in recognizing Dr. Albert Einstein's "theory of relativity" has caused a great stir in scientific circles on both sides of the Atlantic. Dr. Einstein propounded his theory nearly fifteen years ago. The present revival of interest in it is due to the remarkable confirmation which it received in the report of the observations made during the sun's eclipse of last May to determine whether rays of light passing close to the sun are deflected from their course.

The actual deflection of the rays that was discovered by the astronomers was precisely what had been predicted theoretically by Einstein many years since. This striking confirmation has led certain German scientists to assert that no scientific discovery of such importance has been made since Newton's theory of gravitation was promulgated. This suggestion, however, was put aside by Dr. Einstein himself when he was interviewed by a correspondent of the *New York Times* at his home in Berlin. To this correspondent he expressed the difference between his conception and the law of gravitation in the following terms:

Please imagine the earth removed, and in its place suspended a box as big as a room or a whole house, and inside a man naturally floating in the center, there being no force whatever pulling him. Imagine, further, this box being, by a rope or other contrivance, suddenly jerked to one side, which is scientifically termed "diform motion," as opposed to "uniform motion." The person would then naturally reach bottom on the opposite side. The result would consequently be the same as if he

obeyed Newton's law of gravitation, while, in fact, there is no gravitation exerted whatever, which proves that diform motion will in every case produce the same effects as gravitation.

I have applied this new idea to every kind of diform motion and have thus developed mathematical formulas which I am convinced give more precise results than those based on Newton's theory. Newton's formulas, however, are such close approximations that it was difficult to find by observation any obvious disagreement with experience.

Dr. Einstein, it must be remembered, is a physicist and not an astronomer. He developed his theory as a mathematical formula. The confirmation of it came from the astronomers. As he himself says, the crucial test was supplied by the last total solar eclipse. Observations then proved that the rays of fixed stars, having to pass close to the sun to reach the earth, were deflected the exact amount demanded by Einstein's formulas. The deflection was also in the direction predicted by him.

The question must have occurred to many, what has all this to do with relativity? When this query was propounded by the *Times* correspondent to Dr. Einstein he replied as follows:

The term relativity refers to time and space. According to Galileo and Newton, time and space were absolute entities, and the moving systems of the universe were dependent on this absolute time and space. On this conception was built the science of mechanics. The resulting formulas sufficed for all motions of a slow nature; it was found, however, that they would not conform to the rapid motions apparent in electrodynamics.

This led the Dutch professor, Lorenz, and myself to develop the theory of special relativity.

Briefly, it discards absolute time and space and makes them in every instance relative to moving systems. By this theory all phenomena in electrodynamics, as well as mechanics, hitherto irreducible by the old formulae—and there are multitudes—were satisfactorily explained.

Till now it was believed that time and space existed by themselves, even if there was nothing else—no sun, no earth, no stars—while now we know that time and space are not the vessel for the universe, but could not exist at all if there were no contents, namely, no sun, earth, and other celestial bodies.

This special relativity, forming the first part of my theory, relates to all systems moving with uniform motion; that is, moving in a straight line with equal velocity.

Gradually I was led to the idea, seeming a very paradox in science, that it might apply equally to all moving systems, even of disiform motion, and

thus I developed the conception of general relativity which forms the second part of my theory.

As summarized by an American astronomer, Professor Henry Norris Russell, of Princeton, in the *Scientific American* for November 29, Einstein's contribution amounts to this:

The central fact which has been proved—and which is of great interest and importance—is that the natural phenomena involving gravitation and inertia (such as the motions of the planets) and the phenomena involving electricity and magnetism (including the motion of light) are not independent of one another, but are intimately related, so that both sets of phenomena should be regarded as parts of one vast system, embracing all Nature. The relation of the two is, however, of such a character that it is perceptible only in a very few instances, and then only to refined observations.

FIFTY YEARS OF "NATURE"

ACERTAIN Englishman once declared that Sir Norman Lockyer, besides being the editor of *Nature*, also cherished the illusion that he was the Author of it. The present writer does not recall whether this ill-Natured remark was made in reference to Lockyer's much-controverted Meteoritic Hypothesis. Be that as it may, Sir Norman's reputation rests upon other and less disput-

able foundations, and not the least of his titles to fame is that which he has acquired as the creator and editor of the scientific journal which has just completed fifty years of illustrious existence.

The assertion is as true as it is commonplace that *Nature* is preëminently "the scientific man's newspaper." There is no other journal like it. The scientist (a word, by the way, that does not often figure in the columns of our puristic English contemporary, though it was invented by a scientific Englishman) may perchance be so absorbed in his work and his studies that he will forget to eat luncheon now and then, but he would never think of permitting himself to get out of the swim of contemporary scientific events by omitting to read a number of *Nature*. Above all, no exponent or student of science can afford not to read the jubilee number of this journal, issued November 6, 1919.

Sir Norman Lockyer is, alas! thirty-three years older than his mature journal. A brief foreword which he contributes to the number in question bears the title "Valedictory Memories," and as he says nothing therein about divesting himself of his editorial mantle, we can only assume that he is bidding us farewell because the process of grafting new glands has not yet been placed upon the sound footing that it is hoped will one day enable it to keep us perpetually young.

An appreciation of Lockyer, by Deslandres, of the French Academy of Sciences, appears in this number, and a fine portrait of the founder is issued as a supplement to it.



SIR NORMAN LOCKYER

(The portrait reproduced as a supplement to the "jubilee number" of *Nature*)

It was about a year after Lockyer won his spurs as a scientific man by devising, simultaneously with Janssen, the spectroscopic method of observing solar prominences without an eclipse, that he conceived the idea of founding a "weekly illustrated journal of science," catholic in scope, as distinguished from the multitude of scientific periodicals of more restricted field. Alexander Macmillan, the well-known British publisher, made the dream come true. The Macmillans have published *Nature* from the beginning. It is interesting to note that in typography and make-up, as well as in the warm tint of its paper (possibly an important factor in making the journal successful), the number of November 6, 1919, differs hardly at all from that of November 4, 1869. The same vignette and the same quotation from Wordsworth have appeared on the cover all these years. The spirit of the magazine has likewise remained unchanged. One cherishes such rare instances of stability in our present upset world! Certainly American periodical literature offers no parallel.

It would be quite impossible to review here the contents of the jubilee number, because it is itself made up mainly of reviews, by eminent men of science, of the progress of their several specialties during the past half-century. There are about forty of these retrospects, each an intensely interesting epitome of scientific history which the writers have helped to make.

There is a postscript to this number of *Nature*, and it is one to which we must not fail to call attention. Anybody who needs to be convinced of the unique and enviable position which *Nature* occupies in learned circles, in and out of Britain, should read the host of congratulatory messages published in the issue of November 13. From national academies, scientific and technical societies and institutions, and individual *savants* of international renown come such hearty tributes of respect and gratitude as few similar events in the lives of other magazines have ever called forth. May *Nature* live to receive even more fervid applause on its centennial birthday!

FRENCH IDEAS OF TEMPERANCE REFORM

IN the *Revue Mondiale* for November 1, 1919, is a frank criticism of recent anti-alcoholic activity in this country, from the practised and facile pen of Jean Finot, himself president of a temperance organization, the Alarm. His position is frankly taken at once:

Exasperation, acting on spirits disturbed as to the future of the nations, often goads them to excess in other directions. Instead of merely forbidding the consumption of spirituous liquors, even the use of beers, natural wines, and ciders is prohibited. In thus declaring war to the death against all fermented beverages with no distinction, without considering age-old habits, nor organic conditions created by a series of centuries, certain failure is assured in advance.

It is conceded, that the Amendment, or the agitation that culminated in it, has made it "very dry in North America." (The use of the English words, "extra dry," may be a linguistic slip, or a tantalizing jest!) But American journals and foreign reporters agree that even in public places strong drinks are still sold, though camouflaged as tonics, coffee, or mineral water. When the old stock is gone, fermentation of the abundant Californian fruits will supply the lack.

Russia's example should have been instructive. Nicholas' autocratic decree did not create national temperance. Substitutes far worse than vodka—vitriol, even—were madly sought after. Numberless cases of poisoning occurred. Finally, with the aid of corrupt officials, drunkenness became again common, and quite as harmful as of old.

Whatever the merits of alcohol as a stimulant, it has come to be regarded by millions as an organic necessity. The light wines should not be put at once under the same ban as the real spirituous liquors. They are the natural allies against the dread common enemy. Furthermore, legislators, while attacking it, should control and regulate the use of the light beverages, lest they be used to excess or in harmfully adulterated form. The American "quite dry" ideal can be attained only through intermediate transitional conditions.

The French vineyard owners have recently organized to fight American prohibition. The writer has repeatedly advised them, instead of merely urging directly their selfish interests, to join also heartily in the fight against spirituous liquors, in the cause of



HURRAH! ANOTHER KING DETHRONED
From the *Journal* (Sioux City)

national prosperity, morality, and health. Such titles as "The Holy Alliance against Alcoholism," "The Foe within, and his Victims," "King Alcohol," leave no doubt on which side the writer believes himself to be fighting, though he bravely adds: "L'Alarme is perhaps the only anti-alcoholic league, the world around, that has openly proclaimed and defended this program." After some years' struggle, almost single-handed, he now counts many influential adherents.

Our own legislators are heartily complimented for frankness and courage, if not for sanity and good judgment. M. Finot is ashamed, by comparison, of the inaction of his own government. In most Parisian or provincial restaurants the notice is openly

displayed: "Each person who declines to drink will pay. . . ." Many customers do drink merely to avoid that penalty. This is, at least, legally permitted. And the government directly entrusts the sale of tobacco, matches, and stamps, to the sellers of liquor, so that, during the recent scarcity of matches, even the stoutest total abstinsents were forced into their shops, and actually obliged to drink on the premises of the all-powerful wine-seller, in order to get their needs supplied. Some ministers promise relief from this "intolerable and scandalous condition," but none is in sight.

A still franker confession of national weakness is of interest:

Now, even before the war, the average output of a French working-man was about 50 per cent. below that of a German or an American. How can we carry on the struggle, with all the burdens laid upon the labor of the nation, if it continues to be vivified by alcoholism, which has only increased during the war, and is furthermore making greater and greater ravages among the women and children?

Previous essays, it is stated, have proven that alcohol has caused France greater losses than both the wars of 1870 and 1914 together.

The closing tones are hardly confident:

On the morrow of the so-called "victorious peace,"—whose evils are already beginning to appear,—France should be stronger than ever, both in economic productiveness and in national health. But alcoholism, with all the forms of national wastage that it sows and multiplies, will surely plunge France into the abyss, unless it be itself finally overthrown. Elections on a general ticket instead of locally, and the political influence of women, will help us. On these we rest our steadfast hope: the hope of all men who have the will to save France from this the most terrible scourge that has ever assailed her in all the ages.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING IN CHINA

SIMPLIFICATIONS in orthography have made but laggard progress in the English-speaking world compared with the triumphs achieved by a new system of writing in China, as described by Mr. H. C. Reynolds in *Asia* (New York). It appears that an educational revolution is under way in that once changeless country, which is not only vastly interesting in itself, but is fraught with startling social and economic possibilities for both China and the whole commercial world.

"Something is happening in China," says

this writer, "which will undoubtedly leave its historic impression." This "something" is the adoption of a simple alphabet which places reading and writing within the reach of the whole nation, instead of the small minority who have hitherto monopolized these arts. In other words, a means has been found of democratizing knowledge in China, and the probable consequences of this step are almost boundless.

Mr. Reynolds, on the authority of veteran traders and missionaries, says of this great reform:

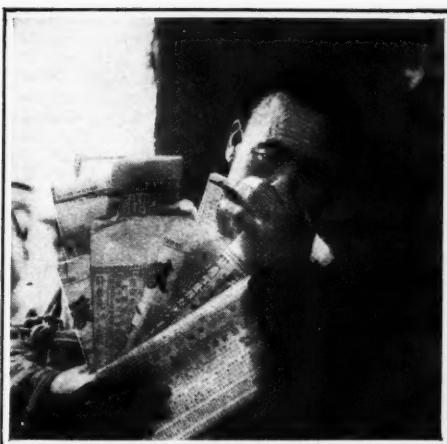
The new simplified National Phonetic Writing is making most amazing progress. It is as easy for the Chinese to learn to read and write now as it is for the American boy. The graduate of a Chinese Governmental College is, after many years of study, supposed to know about 40,000 ideographs or thought characters; this as compared to about 4000 words in the vocabulary of the usual American. F. W. Bible, a Presbyterian missionary from Hangchow, told me that the pupils in Christian schools mastered the new system in a month as compared with the five or six years needed for the old ideograph system. Some illiterates are taught to read in two weeks with lessons of two hours a day.

With their reverence for literature and their fine industry, the Chinese seize upon the boon offered them and make it their own in a way that would surprise a Western community. Old women are learning to read at seventy, and coolies coming out of mission hospitals after three weeks in bed go back to exhibit an ability as scholars that seems to their open-mouthed fellow villagers just short of magic. To successfully grasp this ability is to climb up the social ladder three rungs at a time. If the coolie and the simple souls of China can successfully master the essentials of reading and of writing in so short a time, does it not seem possible that China can climb up more quickly than we have dared believe toward plans for national unity and national organization?

The Chinese, despite their natural intelligence, have hitherto been an illiterate people

Symbols Used in the National System of Phonetic Writing					
With Key Characters and Equivalents in Roman Letters.					
Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Rom'in	Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Rom'in
INITIALS			MEDIALS		
1 ㄍ	哥	KÉ	25 ㄧ	衣	(V) I
2 ㄎ	科	KÉ	26 ㄨ	烏	(W) U
3 ㄢ	元	NG (O)	27 ㄩ	迂	(V) Ü
4 ㄤ	(我)				
5 ㄤ	基	CHI			
6 ㄤ	奇	CHI			
7 ㄤ	尼	NI			
8 ㄤ	得	TE			
9 ㄤ	特	TE			
10 ㄤ	訥	TE			
11 ㄤ	撥	PE			
12 ㄤ	坡	PE			
13 ㄤ	摸	MI			
14 ㄤ	佛	FE			
15 ㄤ	窩	(WO) V			
16 ㄤ	姿	TZÜ			
17 ㄤ	疵	TZÜ			
18 ㄤ	私	SZÜ			
19 ㄤ	之	CHIH			
20 ㄤ	池	CHIH			
21 ㄤ	詩	SHIH			
22 ㄤ	隴	HE			
23 ㄤ	希	HSI			
24 ㄤ	勸	LR			
25 ㄤ	勤	JH			
26 ㄤ	日				
<i>Tone Chart.</i> Dot at corner indicates tone as in chart. The fourth tone will be indicated by a horizontal stroke under the character left-hand corner.					

The Romanizations above indicate the sound of the Phonetic Symbols when they are used alone. When the Phonetic Symbols are combined to represent Chinese words, the letters printed in light-faced type are elided. Letters enclosed in parentheses may or may not be elided in combination.



Photograph from Interchurch World Movement
A CHINESE NEWSBOY

— the inevitable result of their stupendously cumbersome system of writing. Of a population of 400,000,000, only about 5 per cent. can read at all, and not more than 2 per cent. are real masters of the written language. Mr. Reynolds thinks it possible that 375,000,000 Chinese will learn to read within the next ten years. Apart from the purely practical motives which will lead them to take advantage of their new opportunity, there is a powerful incentive arising from the traditional Chinese attitude toward literature. The Chinese have a sort of religious reverence for the written word, and literacy is the universally accepted token of high social standing. We are told that in China

to destroy last week's newspaper shows a gross lack of character. To crumple the printed advertisement received in the morning mail shows the haste of unreason. To tear the printed page shows that you are mentally deficient. Carelessly to toss a book on the floor shows your tendency toward violence. That is a statement of the Chinese attitude toward the sanctity of the printed page.

The new system of writing and the steps that led up to its adoption are thus described:

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu, as it is called is not the first attempt to give China a rational writing. It had thirty or forty predecessors. The Christian missionaries have always been busy on the problem. Attempts at Romanization, or writing in characters similar to English, failed dismally. The system of Wang Chao, a Chinese scholar, had some success; but the Chinese as a whole did not show great interest.

The new system is a decided improvement on Wang Chao's construction and all those that have gone before. To understand it, one must remember that Chinese is entirely made up of monosylla-

bles. There are only 420 monosyllables in the Pekingese official dialect. The number of words in the Imperial Dictionary of K'ang Hai, two centuries old, but still the standard, is 44,449. Each monosyllable on the average has 105 meanings. These are distinguished in two ways; first, by the slight differences of pronunciation, and second, by the association of one word with the word next to it.

It must be remembered that each of these 105 variations of the same monosyllable is an entirely distinct word to the Chinese, and each has an ideograph which bears no suggestion of the 104. It is easy to see why Romanization failed. In a little dictionary which the missionaries tried to use were 165 characters Romanized as "chi" and 178 as "i" (pronounced like English "e").

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu used thirty-nine symbols, twenty-four initials, twelve finals and three medials or connecting sounds. These do not even remotely suggest Roman characters, but they represent all the sounds of what is to be the new national language.

Although primarily a reform in writing, the adoption of the new system is expected to accomplish the no less important result of unifying the spoken language.

The new National Language was founded on the so-called Mandarin. This was already spoken in fifteen out of the eighteen provinces, for the southern coast provinces have a quite different speech. But the pronunciation of Mandarin varied so much that natives of different provinces often were unable to understand each other.

To overcome this difficulty a standardized pronunciation was adopted. The pronunciation was fixed for about 800 words, and all the rest grouped themselves naturally around these. It is believed that in the course of time this will be the accepted tongue of China, except in the far isolated districts.

Then in the fall of 1918 a special congress of representatives of all the provinces, called by the National Ministry of Education, officially adopted

Chi Yin Tzu-Mu as the written language of China. A government decree to this effect, Order No. 75, was promulgated November 23, 1918.

The method taken to spread the language was to teach it first in the government normal schools, then in the lower normal schools, and finally on down through the grades to the primary schools. Progress was very rapid. In the Province of Shansi the Governor appointed lecturers to go into even remote towns. Where he found the old conservatives hampering him he forced the merchants to attend the classes under threat of dire punishment. Even the colleges held institutes to teach the system to school teachers. Books and magazines began to appear. The system was adopted for signal codes in the armed forces, and also by the police in many places. Even before its adoption by the government the system had been taught in the Labor Battalions in France, and many thousands are returning from the war with the key to literature in their possession.

In the primary schools it is considered that the system means a saving of two years of a child's education.

Having learned by the lessons of the past, the missionaries are trying to use great tact in helping along the new movement, although they are much interested at the course things are taking. A special committee of the China Continuation Committee, an interdenominational body, recommended the adoption of Chu Yin Tzu-Mu last February. Miss S. J. Garland was appointed to create a bureau to have charge of the work with the goal to "teach this form of writing to all the Christians during the next year." Much literature was quickly turned out by the Christian Mission presses, which at first was given away, but is now selling readily.

One thing more the new writing has done—it has given China the typewriter. Chinese merchants indeed used a kind of typewriter for the old ideographs, but it had 8000 characters, and its only function was to make carbon copies of letters of importance. Now several American typewriter companies are putting Chinese typewriters on the market and preparing to push them vigorously.

THE COMMON PEOPLE'S UNION

IT is everywhere admitted that the middle class in every nation is the chief victim of the high cost of living. Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, writing in the *World's Work* for November, makes it clear that the so-called "middle-class movement" which is rapidly spreading around the globe had its genesis in the reaction against the rapidly increasing pressure from the rising scale of prices, coupled with the comparatively stable level of salaries.

England has taken the lead in the current middle-class movement. In April, 1919, a convention was held in London to inaugurate a "Middle Classes Union." The chairman,

Mr. Kennedy Jones, stated in his opening address that the organization was to be formed to obtain protection for those members of the community who could in no other way protect their domestic and political interests. The meeting adopted a constitution, its preamble stating: "We are being taxed out of existence. We are being exploited for the benefit of the financial groups and profiteers in the upper classes." The Union's aims were thus officially stated in its constitution:

To promote mutual understanding between all classes of the community and secure an equitable distribution of national taxation.

To obtain the removal of unfair burdens on the

middle classes, and to enable them by collective action to protect their interests from legislative or industrial oppression.

To scrutinize and watch all legislation and administration, and to secure suitable amendments of the law where the interests of the middle classes are unfairly prejudiced.

To support, by legal action if necessary, the interests of any member which raise questions of general principle affecting the middle classes.

Early in the present year, after the Spartacists, or German Bolsheviks, had gained local control in several North German cities, the doctors, nurses, hospital attendants, pharmacists and civic health officials threatened a "counter-strike" against the "proletarian dictatorship" of Spartacide working-

men, and this action soon forced the Spartacists to terms.

Mr. Stoddard's conclusion from his survey of the situation is this:

Throughout the world the middle classes are less adjusted to rising price levels than are either the upper or the lower strata of society. They are consequently suffering more than any other class. They are beginning to see the benefits obtained by other classes through co-operation and are rapidly overcoming the handicaps which have hitherto prevented them from initiating corporate action. Now that such action has actually begun in many quarters and has apparently been both feasible and successful, it would seem as though a rapid development of middle class activity would characterize the immediate future.

THE SECRET OF THE MOVING PICTURE

IN the *Mercure de France* for November 16, 1919, in a style of extreme grace, vividness, imaginative charm and occasional transcendental obscurity, spiced with gentle cynicism and ennui, Georgette Leblanc discusses what is one of the largest artistic and also social problems of the hour—the possibilities of the cinematograph. We can only point out a few of the salient features in this compact essay of six or seven thousand words.

It is impossible to tell how our ancestors, especially the leisure-folk, endured life without the bicycle, the automobile, tennis, golf, tango, bridge—and the motion picture. The last-named ranks rather with conversation, smoking, and the social club, as a necessity. All go, many go nightly. There it stands always at the street's end: no toilet to make for it: the cost negligible. One goes from mere inertia, and stays. We hardly think of the plot or consult the program. We cry "how silly!" But we stay to the end; and we come again. Must not we, then, all intelligent people, agree that there must be some unique, potent, abiding charm?

The writer's solution seems convincing. It is Life! Humanity, beasts, plants, rivers, sea, rain and sunshine. Splendid horizons, breathing forests, glorious prairies, noble mountain-ranges. And above all, unceasingly, the sunlight! And always living folk pass by, laughing, weeping, cursing, singing. Life!

We can never contemplate real nature objectively, for it reacts too mightily on us. The snow-laden wind, the hot midday sun, the rain, hurt us. The pathless forest, the

hurricane, the surge of the sea, have their real terrors. The most impressive film the writer had recently seen was a single breaker, sunlit, transparent, gigantic, flooding the whole screen,—and harmless! Only one sense is affected, and that one so accustomed to the constant presence of ugliness and to occasional beauty, that, even in darkness and in slumber, visions never fail us. And, here, we pass instantly from land to land the world around, without even a mental effort.

The finest lineaments, the tears on the cheek, the twitch of the nerves, can be brought close to us; while in the theatre the actor, thirty yards away, quite concealed by costume and paint, conveys only, by gesture or conventional action, elementary suggestions, as of jealousy, rage, treachery, or devotion. Here, the smile and tear offset the loss of the voice. The traits, the mannerisms, of each race, of countless individuals are absolutely revealed. Real genius either in acting or facial expression has far greater scope than the theatre ever afforded.

The warmest tribute is paid to the naïveté, freshness, youthfulness, of the American films, and the frank forceful types of manly courage and womanly charm with which they are thronged. Mad riders dash over the plains, splendid hyper-brutes in mines use their fists like the creatures of Meunier's bronzes; and amid battles, violence, bloodshed, the fragile ingenue, a blonde child, walks serenely unconscious. "All this is something intermediate between art and life; but nearer far to life than to art." And again: "Is it art? What matters that? It is life: that is the essential."

But can art and the cinematograph be united? There is a seeming contradiction. Art veils, softens, selects, interprets, evaluates. The cinema reveals, insists, accuses, without mercy. By mere magnifying power it often makes delicate detail ugly or ridiculous. That condemns the new device finally, in the eyes of those who demand mystery from Art. But Life will always furnish that in super-abundance. Surely, we need not be limited to romantic adventure. Imaginative fairyland, biography and history, can be set visibly before us.

Toward the higher reaches of psychological interpretation the writer is quite sure that only her own people can take the decisive step. A director must appear willing to wait for the approval of tastes higher than those of the common people to bestow his reward. Perhaps real art should be offered only once or twice in the week. Whole troupes like our own must be taught to express the more complex emotions without losing naturalness in movement and gesture.

The writer sees something of all this in a few of the most advanced "videttes" of the Yankee hosts, but seems quite unaware that complete plays of Ibsen, the culminating scenes of Lincoln's life, the mermaids and grottos of the sea depths, are all at least attempted long ago by American film-makers. Singulare French is the culminating suggestion for ideal subjects:

Not imaginary love, (like Phaedra's, or Hermione's in Winter's Tale) but the love between two beings that really lived, of those great lovers whose bliss and sorrow have wrung the heart of mankind, the love of Petrarch and Laura, of Racine and de la Champmesle, the love of La Valliere, of Md'Ille. de Lespinasse, the love of George Sand and De Musset, the loves of Victor Hugo as told in the beautiful book of M. Louis Barthou.

If this be the last word of ideal futurist art in Gallic hands, even cultivated Americans may be content to tarry yet a while with the galloping cowboys, dare-devil fliers, and the rest of our crude, healthy young idols of the "Movies."

SUBSTITUTES FOR BRICK HOUSES IN GREAT BRITAIN

SHORTAGE of houses has become an acute problem in Great Britain, as it has in many other countries. The solution of this problem bids fair to lead to profound modifications in British architectural methods, particularly with respect to small houses. Some interesting suggestions under this head are quoted in *Commerce Reports* by the American consul-general and by the acting commercial attaché of our embassy in London. The demand for bricks vastly exceeds the supply; hence serious attention is being paid to other building materials. According to an official report on the postwar position of building, "if all available brickworks were to produce at their highest limit of output and with all the labor required at their disposal, they could turn out only 4,000,000,000 bricks a year in the United Kingdom, while the first year's program of working-class housing calls for at least 6,000,000,000 bricks."

In a paper recently read by Sir Charles Ruthen before the Society of Architects it is stated that if the housing problem is to be handled in a fairly satisfactory manner dur-

ing the next five years a grand total of 1,044,000 houses must be built. According to the same authority, more than 7,000,000 persons in the United Kingdom are improperly housed. Quoting from an abstract of his paper in the *Times*:

If a great national calamity is to be avoided, the following are the five essentials in house building, ranged in their proper order: Rapidity in construction, weather-proof qualities, stability, durability, and cost. The figures before given show the impossibility of producing brick houses or old-fashioned slow-built British types of house.

Sir Charles had been considering for the last twelve months whether some other methods could not be adopted in order that rapidly built, dry, and reasonably permanent homes may be built for the people's immediate needs, and had studied the methods used in America and Canada. Thousands of houses erected in America with timber as the main structure have lasted satisfactorily for a period equal to the life of the vast majority of the brick and stone houses in this country. Sir Charles has therefore made an experiment in rapid house construction at Newton, near Swansea. The houses he has built there are examples of typical American house construction adapted to suit English tastes. Three have been erected; the first is typically American with accommodation adapted to suit the needs of this country, the

second has a single-brick veneer on the outside, and the third has a single-brick veneer to the first-floor level and half-timbered work above.

The foundations are in brickwork, and a bitumen damp-proof course is laid upon the brick foundations. The framework of the house is of wood. Upon the framework is fastened a shield of stucco board, which consists of three materials—a fibrous board first, upon which the second material, a thick layer of asphalt mastic, has been applied. The third material consists of wooden dovetailed laths embedded into the first two under great pressure. If this shield is properly fixed, we have a perfectly damp-proof, vermin-proof, and warm structure. Its inventor further claims that the board is also fireproof. Cement plaster has been applied to form the external finish, and the final appearance is identical with that of an ordinary brick house with cement stucco applied to the external faces.

Various methods of building cottages without bricks and without mortar are set forth in a recent book by Major Clough Williams-Ellis, which has aroused much interest in the British press. According to the notice in *Commerce Reports*,

Maj. Ellis asserts that pisé de terre, or rammed earth, is an exceedingly good material for the building of walls, as was proved by the practice of many ancient builders. So far as rural housing is concerned, the undoubted difficulties associated with the provision and transport of ma-

terials must be met by the use of natural materials already existing on the site, materials that may be worked straight into the fabric of the building without elaborate or costly conversion and by local labor.

Cob building is well understood and is still a living craft in many parts of Wessex and South Wales, where its merits and advantages have been abundantly recognized. Maj. Ellis points to the great possibilities that are to be found in pisé building, which have not as yet become generally realized, and believes that if adequate care be bestowed on constructional details, there is no reason why buildings in pisé should not endure for generations. Of the beauty of earth buildings there is no doubt, and it is his opinion that pisé and chalk compost may fairly lay claim to all the virtues justly ascribed to cob, while possessing many merits peculiar to themselves. Hayes Barton, the birthplace of Sir Walter Raleigh, is a cob building, and the house to-day is said to be as good as it ever was.

Maj. Ellis has put his theories to the most practical of all tests; he has erected a cottage at Newlands Corner, near Guildford. The somewhat primitive method is the simple one of erecting a shuttering of deal planks, filling them in with earth, and ramming this earth until it is firmly compressed. The walls are finished off with plaster. Maj. Ellis is arranging for the supply of complete outfits which will mechanically excavate, raise, tilt, and hammer the dry earth, thus reducing manual labor to a minimum. Already the cost of erecting walls in pisé is shown to be only about one-tenth of what it would be in bricks.

THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL AT OYSTER BAY

PLANS for the memorial to Theodore Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, his home town, have been well under way for several months. The working out of the architectural features has been entrusted to Mr. Electus D. Litchfield, a friend and neighbor of Colonel Roosevelt, and with him are associated his partner, Mr. Rogers, and the well-known landscape architect, Mr. James L. Greenleaf. The site of the memorial is a half-mile strip of waterfront which during Colonel Roosevelt's life remained unimproved. It was his expressed desire that this particular bit of land might be made into a "breathing place for all the people of this neighborhood, especially the less fortunate people." From this bit of shore the Roosevelt home, Sagamore Hill, may be seen, as well as Center Island and the shores of Connecticut.

In the report that he made to the Oyster Bay Committee Mr. Litchfield commented as follows on the larger outlines of the project:

Among the features which Mr. Loeb and other members of the committee have definitely suggested as desirable were a playground equipped with swings and other apparatus for the use of children, a baseball diamond and a grand stand, tennis courts, bathing beach and possibly a public bathhouse. In addition to these recreational and more or less utilitarian features, it has been suggested that the park should contain an open-air forum, fountain, lagoons, and other features of a dignified memorial character.

Aside from the playground and amusement space, which are separated from the rest of the composition by the existing canal, the scheme consists of an outdoor auditorium, the walls being formed by a double colonnade of high polished elms, between whose trunks one may look out upon the bay and toward Sagamore Hill, and whose foliage will cast beautiful shadows upon the green lawn carpet of the room.

At the head of the auditorium there would be a rostrum, backed by a simple, dignified structure, having its west front built somewhat in the form of a Greek theater, and providing a stage upon which may be seated the performers at open-air concerts.

THE NEW BOOKS FROM WAR TO PEACE

What Wilson Did at Paris. By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page & Company. 213 pp.

Mr. Baker was in charge of the American Press Bureau at Paris while the Peace Treaty was in the making. Next to President Wilson and Colonel House there is probably no American who is so familiar with the actual story of the vicissitudes through which the Treaty passed, and certainly no one is in a better position to describe the part that was played by Mr. Wilson. As Mr. Baker sees it, each of the great crises in the Peace Conference centered upon some point in the President's leadership. There was the settlement of world colonial policy by the adoption of the mandatory system, the fight to make the League of Nations Covenant an integral part of the Treaty, the modification of French territorial claims, the withdrawal of the Italian delegates because of the President's attitude on the Fiume situation, and finally the Shantung settlement.

The Last Four Months. By Major-General Sir F. Maurice. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 245 pp.

The former director of military operations on the British General Staff tells in this volume how and why Marshall Foch became Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in the spring of 1918, how Ludendorff was defeated and the Germans driven out of France. Especially interesting to Americans are General Maurice's chapters dealing with the taking of St. Mihiel, the Battle of the Meuse-Argonne and the American advance on Sedan. Although the American troops fought with imperfect preparation and often with insufficient transport and as a result suffered heavy losses, General Maurice believes that their onslaughts on the German lines gave the Allies the victory in 1918 and thus saved innumerable lives and the further expenditure of treasure.

Average Americans. By Theodore Roosevelt. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 252 pp. Ill.

Colonel Roosevelt fought, won distinction, and was wounded at the front in France. His book, however, is much more than an account of personal military experiences. The first chapter gives an intimate picture of the Roosevelt home life while the elder Colonel Roosevelt was alive, and his letters to his sons give some indication of the part that he played in the awakening of the country to the need of preparedness. The son follows up the lessons of those letters by showing how great a price we paid for unpreparedness and incompetency when the real test came.

War in the Garden of Eden. By Kermit Roosevelt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 253 pp. Ill.

Captain Kermit Roosevelt served during the war on two fronts, under the British and American flags. His present book is largely a record of the campaign in the East under General Allenby and General Maude. Apart from the text descriptions, which are graphic and interesting throughout, the illustrations made from photographs taken by Captain Roosevelt himself give novel and unusual glimpses of the regions in which Allenby and Maude operated.

Beatty, Jellicoe, Sims and Rodman. By Francis T. Hunter. Doubleday, Page & Company. 204 pp. Ill.

Lieutenant Hunter is an American naval officer who came into personal contact with leading officers of both the English and American navies during the war. What he has to say about the conduct of the Admirals under war conditions is illuminating, but not less interesting are his chapters on "The American Gob at War," and "The Teeth of Beatty's Bull Dogs." Altogether an entertaining and very human book.

Fields of Victory. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Charles Scribner's Sons. 266 pp. Ill.

Letters describing conditions in France under the Armistice. Mrs. Ward went to France a year ago in order to learn the true measure of the part played by the British Empire and the British Armies in the concluding campaigns of the war. Her comment on military operations is chiefly confined to the year 1918.

Germany in Defeat. By Count Charles de Souza. E. P. Dutton & Co. 231 pp. Ill.

This volume, Count de Souza's strategic history of the war, has to do chiefly with the operations of 1916 on both the Eastern and Western fronts. It is well supplied with maps and plans.

Out of the Ruins. By George B. Ford. The Century Company. 275 pp. Ill.

Major Ford has had an important part in the American Red Cross reconstruction work in France. He contributed some account of this work to the October number of this REVIEW. Before he went to France Major Ford had become one of the leading authorities in this country on town planning. In June, 1919, he organized at Paris an Inter-Allied Town-Planning Conference. He knows the devastated districts thoroughly and his present book is intended to enlighten Americans as to the work of rehabilitation that is going on,

as well as to show how American collaboration may be made effective.

Russia, White or Red. By Oliver M. Sayler. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 312 pp. Ill.

This volume is the work of an American newspaper correspondent who has tried without prejudice to either the Bolsheviks or the Czarist reactionaries to find out just what kind of a life is being lived by the average Russian in these days of social and political upheaval. He has a concluding chapter on the reactions of a Liberal in the presence of class warfare. Photographs taken by the author depict various aspects of modern Russian life.

The Russian Pendulum. By Arthur Bullard. Macmillan. 256 pp.

The first nine chapters of this book are based on the observations and impressions of visits made to Russia in the years 1905-07. In mid-summer of 1917 Mr. Bullard went to Russia again

and witnessed the fall of Kerensky and the rise of Lenin. Another portion of the book is devoted to Siberia, and in a third section the author attempts an answer to the question, "What can we do to help Russia?" He makes it clear that there has been a complete swing of the political pendulum in European Russia from the tyranny of the Czar to a new tyranny under Lenin.

Paris Vistas. By Helen Davenport Gibbons. The Century Company. 396 pp. Ill.

Mrs. Gibbons is an American woman who knows her Paris quite as well as she knows her native Philadelphia. She has not merely "done" the city as a tourist, but has actually lived in it for months and years of time before, during and after the war. Her book is not at all a description of the "sights of Paris," nor is it a guide-book. It is a delightful account of human experiences and relations—a picture of the real life of the modern city. An important feature of the book is the series of sixteen sketches by Lester G. Hornby.

HISTORY, AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN

Pioneers of the Old Southwest. By Constance Lindsay Skinner. New Haven: Yale University Press. 304 pp. Ill.

The Reign of Andrew Jackson. By Frederic Austin Ogg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 249 pp. Ill.

The Sequel of Appomattox. By Walter Lynwood Fleming. New Haven: Yale University Press. 322 pp. Ill.

The Path of Empire. By Carl Russell Fish. New Haven: Yale University Press. 305 pp. Ill.

The reader of the separate volumes in the "Chronicles of America" series can hardly fail to acquire such an interest in American history that he will take advantage of the bibliographical notes at the end of each volume and read other books dealing with one topic or another suggested by the "Chronicles." There are before us this month four volumes of the series, each of which deals with a special period, or episode, of American history. "The Pioneers of the Old South" by Constance Lindsay Skinner, gives much of the tradition and historical atmosphere of "The Dark and Bloody Ground." Daniel Boone and John Sevier might be singled out as the heroes of the narrative, but the deeds of many other stanch pioneers are here faithfully recorded, and a chapter is devoted to the Revolutionary battle of King's Mountain, which was long so strangely neglected by most of our school histories. "The Reign of Andrew Jackson," by Frederic Austin Ogg, continues the story of the Southwestern frontier until the men and politics of that region became dominant in national affairs. In "The Sequel of Appomattox" a man of Southern birth, Mr. Walter L. Fleming, describes the era of reconstruction after the Civil War—"The Reunion of the States." The later emergence of America as a world power is related by Carl Russell Fish in "The Path of Empire."

History of the United States. From Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896. Vol. VIII. By James Ford Rhodes. Macmillan. 484 pp.

The period of American political history covered by this volume is possibly less familiar to the rising generation than the era of the Civil War or the slavery agitation. It includes the administrations of Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison. Mr. Rhodes displays in this volume the same qualities that have given him very high rank as an historian. Possibly the public questions and controversies discussed in his earlier volumes are more intrinsically interesting, but in the present volume he is venturing on new ground so far as definitive treatment from the historian's standpoint is concerned. His care in the use of documentary materials and the abundant foot-note references to authorities enable the reader to know just what is behind his every statement and to form some idea of the place that will be held by such men as Blaine and Cleveland on history's page.

The Road to Washington. By Wilfred M. Barton, M. D. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 197 pp. Ill.

Dr. Barton conceived the idea of giving his youthful nephews an object-lesson in American history by retracing the actual movements of the British expedition that captured Washington City in 1814, from the time it made a landing at Benedict on the Patuxent and began the advance across Maryland. Fortunately he made a detailed record of all that could be learned about the expedition and obtained photographs of many of the landmarks and old buildings. These he has incorporated in the present volume.

Jewish Contributions to Civilization. By Joseph Jacobs. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 334 pp.

Dr. Jacobs was a Jewish scholar of great learn-

ing who died in New York in 1916. He had long been interested in studying the distribution of Jewish ability and made researches on that subject in association with Sir Francis Galton. The present volume is a brilliant and scholarly treatment of the influence of Jewish thought throughout the world.

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 516 pp.

This second volume of the Ferrero history covers the period beginning with the death of Caesar and ending with the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A. D. The book constitutes an abridged ex-

position of the same ideas that are set forth by Ferrero in his "Greatness and Decline of Rome." Even in this briefer work the author has succeeded well in keeping the facts in relationship and thus giving a well-rounded and unified treatment of the whole subject.

European History, 1789-1815. By Lucius Hudson Holt and Alexander Wheeler Chilton. Macmillan. 358 pp. Ill.

A new presentation of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period by two professors at the West Point Military Academy. The text and maps serve to make the military campaigns of that period intelligible to the general reader.

BIOGRAPHY

Portraits of American Women. By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 257 pp. Ill.

As a writer of biography Mr. Bradford has at least this commendable trait: He lets his subjects speak for themselves. His present volume, as he himself states, might almost be called "Portraits of New England Women," since with a single exception the subjects studied in it were born in New England, and Miss Frances Willard, the leader of the temperance movement among women, while a native of New York State, had the New England background and traditions behind her. The other seven subjects represent among them practically every period of American national history. Here is the list: Abigail Adams, Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller, Louisa May Alcott, and Emily Dickinson.

Memories of a Musical Career. By Clara Kathleen Rogers (Clara Doria). Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 503 pp. Ill.

English by birth and a member of a well-known musical family, the author was a student at the Leipsic Conservatory in the '50s and later followed an operatic career in Italy. Coming to America, she established herself as a concert and choir singer and married here. Because of her many personal associations on both continents her autobiography is rich in interesting allusions.

William Peters Hepburn. By John Ely Briggs. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 469 pp. Ill.

The late Colonel Hepburn of Iowa was for thirty years a prominent figure in State and national politics. During his service in Congress, which extended from 1881 to 1909, he was especially identified with railroad regulation and the project of the Isthmian Canal. His biographer, Mr. Briggs, states that he never printed a speech in the *Congressional Record* that was not delivered on the floor of the House, and rarely if ever did he extend or amplify his remarks in the *Record*. It is asserted that all of his remarks in the House were extemporaneous.

Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, 1769-1784. By his Great-Great-Grandson. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 362 pp.

The latest and best biography of the famous Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut is the work of a descendant of the same name. This author, who died last May after completing the life of his great-great-grandfather, had been a life-long student of Connecticut history, especially of the Revolutionary period. In the present work he made use of much historical material that has come to life within recent years. The story of his distinguished ancestor is told in a simple and dignified way, with the absence of extravagant eulogy.

The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle. Edited by Reginald C. McGrane. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 359 pp. Ill.

The president of the Second Bank of the United States was one of the outstanding figures in our national life during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. At a later period of our history a banker's acquaintance would have been more closely limited to financiers, but within the scope of Nicholas Biddle's life fell many important movements in national and State politics. He was intimately concerned in the financial and commercial readjustment after the War of 1812, the establishment of the Second Bank of the United States, the development of its power, the long struggle with President Jackson, the recharter of the bank by the State of Pennsylvania, the panic of 1837, and the ensuing changes and overturnings in party politics. In this volume there are letters from President Monroe, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, President Tyler and many other important men of Biddle's time.

A Lawyer's Life on Two Continents. By Wallis Nash. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 182 pp. Ill.

Mr. Nash passed the first half of his long life in England, where he rose to high position at the bar and was associated with Edwin Wilkins Field and Judah P. Benjamin, the former Confederate

cabinet minister. Among his warm personal friends outside of his profession was Charles Darwin. For the past thirty-five years Mr. Nash has lived in Oregon, and his experiences there have of course been of an entirely different kind. During his period of residence there Mr. Nash has seen a good part of the State reclaimed from wilderness conditions.

The Napoleon of the Pacific. By Herbert H. Gowen. Fleming H. Revell Company. 326 pp. Ill.

A great figure in the history of the Sandwich Islands was Kamehameha the Great, known as the "Napoleon of the Pacific," whose centenary has just been celebrated at Honolulu. During his reign he developed marked organizing ability and power to rule. In the latter years of the eighteenth century he subjugated the islands and founded the line of native kings that continued until the year 1872. Dr. Herbert H. Gowen, of the University of Washington, gives in this volume the first complete record of this great king's achievements.

The Life of Frederick the Great. By Norwood Young. Henry Holt and Company. 433 pp. Ill.

Strange as it may seem, there is real justification for the publication of a new life of Frederick

the Great in that authoritative sources for such a work have only recently become accessible. It is said that the literature in Germany, France, and Austria relating to Frederick the Great is second only in bulk to that which has been inspired by Napoleon. The great collection known as the "Political Correspondence," which had been in course of publication for thirty-five years, was brought to a standstill by the outbreak of the Great War. The Austrian and German General Staffs also issued important military histories covering the Silesian and Seven Years War, during the years 1890-1913. In the present volume advantage has been taken of these recent works. Frederick stands out in history as the real founder of Prussia and as the promulgator of those ideals of government which had their logical fruitage in the Great War of 1914-19.

Voltaire in His Letters. Translated with a Preface and Foreword by S. G. Tallentyre. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 270 pp. Ill.

Interesting side lights on the Prussian King Frederick's personality are also shown by this selection from the correspondence of Voltaire, who, it will be remembered, passed some time at Frederick's court. Other portions of the correspondence disclose various phases of the French philosopher's extraordinary mentality, and the range of his personal interests.

ART AND ITS MASTERS

What Pictures to See in Europe. By Lorin-
do M. Bryant. John Lane Company. 181 pp. Ill.

The first edition of this little manual appeared in 1910, and was found helpful to so many readers, and especially to sightseers in Europe, that a revision was called for. During the five years of war there was of course little use for such a book as this, but now that the new rush of tourists to Europe will soon begin it should again come to its own. Descriptions of the art treasures of Spain have been substituted in the new edition for the chapters devoted to German pictures.

American Painting and its Tradition. By John C. Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons. 270 pp. Ill.

Studies of nine representative American painters who belong to a definite period in American art, including practically the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first fifteen years of the twentieth. The nine men selected by Professor Van Dyke to stand for that period are Inness, Wyant, Martin, Homer, La Farge, Whistler, Chase, Alexander and Sargent. Of these, all save the last-named have passed on, and their work has been appraised by the critics. Mr. Van Dyke's book answers many questions concerning the ideals and personalities of the artists about whom he writes. It cannot be said that they were united in any one "school," but they were all leaders in what was termed in its day a "new movement in American art," the impulse to which came with the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876.

Etchers and Etching. By Joseph Pennell. Macmillan. 367 pp. Ill.

This volume, by the foremost of living American etchers, accomplishes two objects: It gives an admirable survey of the work of the best etchers in the past, and it supplements this with a technical description of the approved modern methods in the art. The illustrations are carefully selected examples of old and modern work, including original plates by the author. Of special interest is Mr. Pennell's comment on Whistler, with whom he worked for many years.

Dutch Landscape Etchers of the Seventeenth Century. By William Aspenwall Bradley. New Haven: Yale University Press. 128 pp. Ill.

Even when the present generation acknowledges its debt to the great Dutch etchers of the past we do not often give full credit for the pioneer work that they did in landscape etching. Indeed this little book by Mr. Bradley is the first adequate account in English of Dutch achievement in that field. The illustrations are beautiful reproductions of prints and drawings, principally from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Robbia Heraldry. By Allan Marquard. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 310 pp. Ill.

This scholarly monograph is published by the Princeton University Press as a contribution to a field of research in which comparatively little has heretofore been done by American investigators. The illustrations are admirably printed.

The Foundations of Classic Architecture. By Herbert Langford Warren. Macmillan. 357 pp. Ill.

This work was left in manuscript by the late Dean of the Faculty of Architecture of Harvard University. Professor Warren had embodied in this volume his matured views on the basic principles of his art, as revealed in its formative period. He summarizes the history of architecture in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and finally, Greece. The volume is illustrated from documents and from original drawings.

Pictures of London by Celebrated Artists. John Lane Company. 48 pp. Ill.

A series of drawings of famous London scenes by well-known artists. Several of these reproductions are in color, but those in monotone are possibly quite as effective.

Pictures of Paris by Celebrated Artists. John Lane Company. 48 pp. Ill.

The Parisian views surpass in variety and frequently in unexpectedness of composition. Many leading modern artists are represented by these reproductions.

Old New England Doorways. By Albert G. Robinson. Charles Scribner's Sons. 21 pp. (text). Ill.

Mr. Robinson's collection of photographs of old-time doorways running from Kitterey, Maine, to Wickford, Rhode Island, and including numerous examples from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, forms an excellent introduction to the study of New England domestic architecture. In connection with the plates Mr. Robinson presents some highly interesting comment and information regarding these ancient doorways.

Early English Water-Color Drawings by the Great Masters. Articles by A. J. Finberg. 48 pp. Ill.

Reproductions, in black-and-white and in color, of masterpieces among the water-color drawings by Turner and other English artists. The text consists of articles contributed by A. J. Finberg. The whole forms a special number of the *Studio*.

The Fine Art of Photography. By Paul L. Anderson. J. B. Lippincott Company. 314 pp. Ill.

Those who wish to use the camera as a medium for the expression of artistic impulses will find in this volume a text-book of art principles as applied to photography. There are chapters on "Landscape Work," "Winter Work," "Architectural Work," "Marine Work," "Motion-Picture Work," and "Portrait Work."

The Art of Photoplay Making. By Victor O. Freeburg. Macmillan. 281 pp. Ill.

Thus far comparatively few books that treat of moving pictures have been taken seriously by the general public. Most of them are obviously and frankly commercial in spirit and purpose. Dr. Freeburg's work is an exception to the rule. He attempts a serious analysis of the new art from a purely artistic viewpoint. In the course of his discussion many of the absurdities and inconsistencies of the photoplay producers are exposed. Dr. Freeburg cannot see why the public should depend on the moving-picture publicity men to "tell us what they want us to want. Why shouldn't we ourselves tell them what we really want?"

SOCIOLOGY

Justice and the Poor. By Reginald Heber Smith. Published for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching by Charles Scribner's Sons. 271 pp.

It is a good sign that the legal profession is awake to the fact that justice is now to a great extent denied to the poor. At the same time we should not forget that legal aid associations and other agencies, intended to make the position of the poor more equal before the law, largely owe their existence to the profession itself. This volume, the work of an eminent member of the Boston bar, shows in what respects our system of government has thus far failed to secure justice for those who because they are poor and weak and friendless find it hard to maintain their own rights. This plain statement of the situation is the first step toward a salutary reform, as is pointed out by Elihu Root and President Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation, under whose auspices the study was undertaken and its results published.

The Sober World. By Randolph Wellford Smith. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 291 pp.

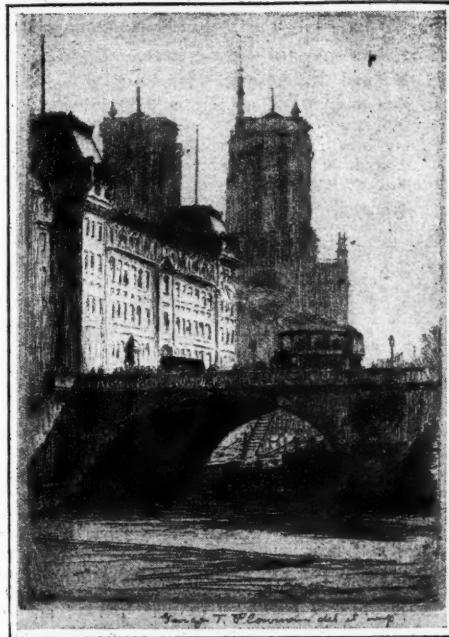
An up-to-date treatment of the liquor question from a prohibition standpoint. The author attacks the German brewery interests.

In the Sweet Dry and Dry. By Christopher Morley and Bart Haley. Boni and Liveright. 168 pp. Ill.

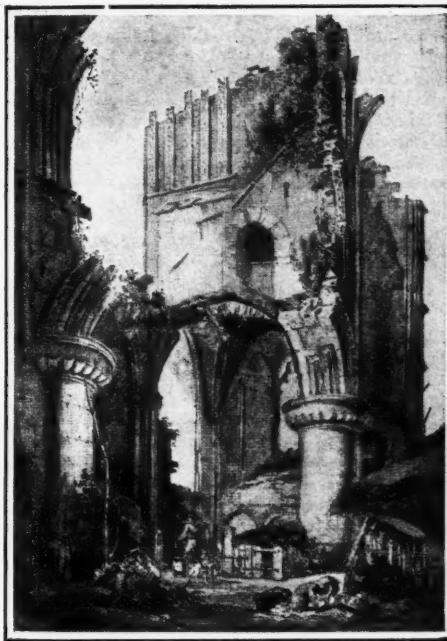
An attempt to clothe in the form of comedy the discussion of what the authors evidently think is a serious subject, namely, the prohibition of the liquor traffic throughout the United States.

Law and the Family. By Robert Grant. Charles Scribner's Sons. 264 pp.

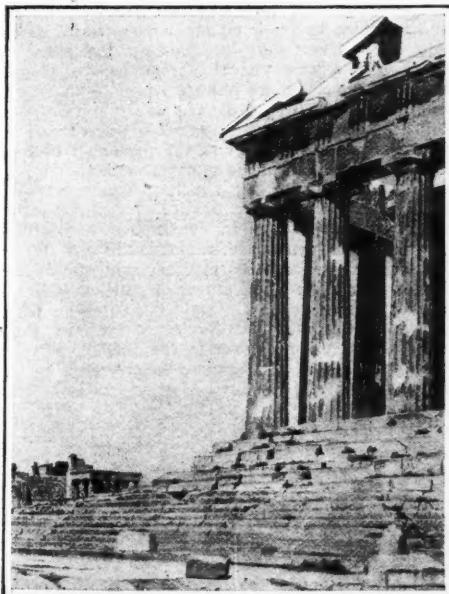
The author of this book, who is known to America as a story-teller and to Boston as Judge of the Probate Court, here embodies the results of many



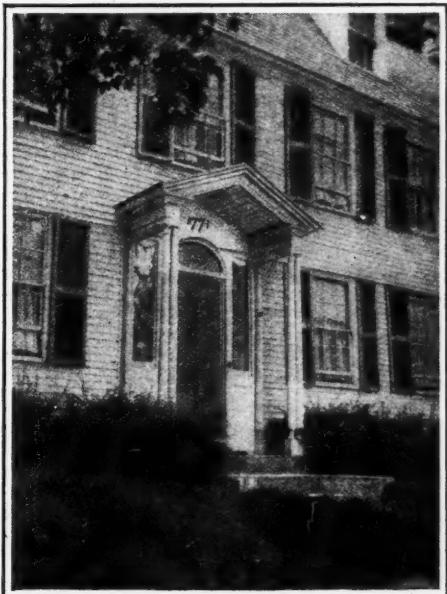
THE TOWERS OF NOTRE-DAME
(From an etching by George T. Plowman, reproduced in "Pictures of Paris")



MALMESBURY ABBEY, BY TURNER
(Reproduced in "Early English Water-Color Drawings by the Great Masters")



NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE PARTHENON
(Reproduced in "The Foundations of Classic Architecture" from the painting from Harold B. Warren)



A COLONIAL DOOR AT OLD LITCHFIELD
(Photographed for "Old New England Doorways" by Albert G. Robinson)

NOTABLE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE SEASON'S ART BOOKS

years of shrewd observation from the bench. These are the topics upon which Judge Grant discourses with abundant wisdom and a fitting gravity: "Women and Property," "The Third Generation and Investment Property," "Perils of Will-Making," "Feminism in Fiction and Real Life," "Domestic Relations and the Child," "The Limits of Feminine Independence," and "Marriage and Divorce." Although he necessarily deals with legalistic matters to a certain extent, Judge Grant

abstains from the use of legal terminology. The language he employs is non-technical throughout.

The Abolition of Inheritance. By Harlan Eugene Read. Macmillan. 312 pp.

In this book Mr. Read argues that inheritance of wealth is unjust to the disinherited, to the public welfare, and morally wrong. He supplements his presentation of the argument with answers to numerous objections commonly made to so radical a change.

ADMINISTRATION

Budget-Making in a Democracy. By Edward A. Fitzpatrick. Macmillan. 317 pp.

It is to be hoped that members of Congress will read and ponder this book. While it tells them much that they already know about the failure and inefficiency of the present legislative methods of handling the budget, it also states in no uncertain terms the consensus of the wisest opinion in the nation as to the system that should take their place. It is a book that should have an important part to play in the coming national campaign.

County Administration. By C. C. Maxey. Macmillan. 203 pp.

As a basis of this study of county administration, the author used a survey of county government in the State of Delaware. Two of Delaware's three counties are distinctly rural in character, while the third is an urban county, and the author thus had an opportunity to contrast the problems of rural and urban type.

Town Improvement. By Frederick Noble Evans. D. Appleton & Company. 260 pp.

Suggestions for the physical improvement of the town or city, with observations as to the effect of such improvement upon the community life. Any public-spirited citizen desirous of the improvement of his home town may find in this work an outline of methods on which to proceed. The illustrations are reproductions of photographs of good and bad examples of street and park development.

City Manager in Dayton. By C. E. Rightor. Macmillan. 271 pp.

This volume gives the actual record of four years of commission-manager government in Day-

ton (1914-17) and compares them with the four preceding years under the mayor-council plan (1910-13). Other cities throughout the country have turned to Dayton for information as to the working of the city-manager idea. As an outcome of the Dayton experiment several States have passed city-manager laws and several large cities are considering the adoption of the same principle in their governments. This book answers hundreds of questions about the experiment which are constantly being asked by civic leaders in other communities throughout the country. Mr. Rightor offers a statement of fact, not an argument.

Report on the Foreign Service. National Civil Service Reform League. 322 pp.

There never was a time when the importance of the diplomatic and consular service of the United States to every citizen was so great as it is to-day. Everything depends on the way in which our representatives abroad acquit themselves in determining our relations with other peoples. This report of the National Civil Service Reform League sets forth a series of facts that are not wholly reassuring as to the personnel of our foreign service, but at the same time the committee shows how Congress has it in its power to remedy many of these faults and thus to give our country an improved status in its intercourse with other nations. The committee recommends that there be an increase of salaries together with the adoption of an adequate retirement or pension system; that embassies, legations and consulates be purchased in the principal foreign cities, and that the entrance examinations to the foreign service be improved and placed more strictly on a merit basis. The committee further urges the extension of the merit system of promotion to the selection of Ministers.

